Consumer Tribes And Traditional Tribes That Consume: An Exploratory Study Of Kenyan Tribes' Consumption Practices Within A Modernising Tribal Society

Thesis

Consumer tribes and Traditional tribes that consume:

An exploratory study of Kenyan tribes' consumption practices within a modernising tribal society.

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Declaration and copyright

I Gidraph Mungai Michuki declare that this thesis is composed by myself. No material contained in this thesis has been submitted elsewhere for the award of any other degree. To the best of my knowledge, any materials written or published by other people have been duly acknowledged.

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Abstract

By exploring traditional tribes' consumption practices within a modernising tribal society, this thesis identifies and examines how tribal customs are embodied and used to affirm tribal identities in Kenya. This thesis explores how and why consumption is used to express individual and collective conformity to tribal customs.

A theory-building ethnographic approach was adopted, utilising three months of multi-method data collection in Kenya and a 12-month online study. 26 semi-structured face-to-face interviews were undertaken in Kenya (male $N = 16$ and female $N = 10$).

The findings indicate that embodiment of tribal customs happens amongst coalescing consumers who share a regard for their tribal identities. This study reveals selective sociality through what I refer to as tribes-constituted consumption assemblages (TCAs), where individual and collective re-interpretation and re-enactment of what it means to be a tribal person happens. For example, the emergence of women-only TCAs where gender stereotypes are challenged whilst re-interpreting and renegotiating women's social position within a patriarchal tribal society, and pan-tribal TCAs that shared a passion for economic capital, re-interpreting, bridging and subsuming historical tribal rivalries. This thesis reveals how consumers use tribal gatherings to conspicuously display their tribal practices, consequently acquiring cultural capital from discerning others. Acquired tribal cultural capital is then used to negotiate for social recognition within TCAs and wider Kenyan society where the tribe holds special meanings.

The shared allure for re-creating tribal customs from a long-established past, acts as the linking value for TCA members. However, unlike the Western derived consumer tribes where the 'linking value' is a mutual passion for marketplace goods, TCAs are linked by their mutual belief in tribal identities, and, their shared passion for re-creating tribal customs to tackle imagined threats to tribal authenticity from modernisation.

This thesis concludes that tribal identities are perpetually generative, and consumerism plays a vital role in evolving tribalism.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my late Father, Michuki and my Mother, Njoki.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

It is generally understood within the field of consumer behaviour that consumers use consumption not just for utility functions (Sheth, Newman and Gross 1991), but for a myriad of other non-utility and what appear to be non-rational purposes (Baudriallard 1990; Firat and Venkatesh 1995). For example, consumption has been shown to establish an enduring re-connection with consumers' primitive heritage (Hirschman 1985) and for symbolic purposes (Baudriallard 1990; Firat and Venkatesh 1995; Holbrook and Hirschman 1982; Wymer and Samu, 2002; Zaltman and Wallendorf 1979). Consumption also occurs as an expression of the individual and group selves in both physical (Belk 1988) and virtual spaces (Belk 2013). Furthermore, consumption is used to experience the sacred (Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry 1989) and to reconnect with a presumed bygone tribal past (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Cova and Pace 2006; Otnes and Maclaran 2018). These diverse purposes why consumption happens aligns with Trentman's (2013: 3) description of consumption as constituting '… a whole bundle of goods that are obtained via different systems of provision and used for different purposes'.

Several consumer studies situated within western societies have uncovered diverse purposes why consumption happens. For example, the complexity of the various consumption purposes is captured in several consumer studies that report a new phenomenon where consumers coalesce around products, brands, or issues of mutual interest which act as the link that attract and bind people together (Canniford 2011; Canniford and Shankar 2007; Cova 1997; Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Cova and Pace 2006; Goulding and Saren 2007, 2009; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013). Cova and Cova (2002: 598) depicts this coalescing phenomenon as occurring due to consumers' shared mutual interest or passion in the 'linking value'. The linking value emerges in response to societal modernisation, which threatens the social fabric that once held society together in the bygone primitive past (Cova and Cova 2002; Maffesoli 1996; 2007). This phenomenon is generally understood as consumer tribes - a term used to describe a '…loosely connected and inherently unstable' self-organised assembly of unrelated individuals who are '…held together essentially through emotion and passion' (Cova and Cova 2002: 598). The stability of a consumer tribe is sustained through collective repetitive rituals pertaining to the product, brand, or issue that links members (Cova

1997; Cova and Cova 2002). Proponents of consumer tribes such as Canniford (2011); Cova and Pace (2006); Cova, Kozinets and Shankar (2007); Goulding, Shankar and Canniford (2013) echo Cova and Cova's (2002) likening of consumers' marketplace behaviours to traditional[1] tribes. Drawing upon Maffesoli's (1996) notion of 'modern tribes',[2] Cova and Cova (2002: 597) warrant the likening of consumer tribes to traditional tribes by asserting that their '…social dynamics can be metaphorically defined as tribes because like the tribes in archaic societies', they:

- constitute collective actors that counter institutional power;
- do not rely on central power to maintain social order;
- rally members around something irrational such as kinship and locality akin to archaic societies; and
- participate in the re-enchantment of the world.

However, although offering valuable insight into consumer culture by unravelling this phenomenon, the assumption that consumers' shared passion for consumption goods - arguably holding members together - warrants the claim of a likeness to traditional tribes as suggested above (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007) is a contestable proposition. In contrast to consumer tribes, traditional tribes are distinct social organisations of people with shared and collectively understood customs, beliefs of a common ancestral descent, a culture unique to their respective social group(s), a tribal language, and a shared belief in a common region of ancestral origin for their group (Gluckman 2004, 2017; Gulliver 1969b; Kenyatta 1938; Mauss 2002; Muriuki 1974; Muriuki and Sobania 2007; Sahlins 2017/1968; Southall 1970; Weiner 1992). The characteristics of traditional tribes will be discussed in more detail in chapter three.

The argument behind depicting consumers as tribes suggests transfer of characteristics and practices from the wider societal level - like the broader western society's alleged primitive

[1] For brevity's sake, the term 'traditional', when used here as prefix to the term 'tribe', denotes the practice of passing on distinct common ways of doing things, such as rituals based on collective beliefs passed on from one generation to another (Giddens 1984). Therefore, a traditional tribe here refers to a distinguishable social group of people where distinct and enduring customs are presumed to be passed on from one generation to another (Beck, Giddens and Lash 1994).

[2] The notion of modern tribes is rooted in Maffesoli's (1996) premise that as social fabric disintegrates due to modernisation; individuals experience a void. The void causes individuals to seek social and emotional connections with others who share mutual interests, hence re-establishing shared beliefs and collective attitudes which unify members through mimicry of bygone tribal social links that once held society together by '…feeling emotions together' (Maffesoli 2007:27).

tribal past (Cova 1997; Cova and Cova 2001; Maffesoli 1996, 2007), into the modern coalescences. For example, characteristics observed in the coalescence Salomon tribe (Cova and Cova 2002); the Nutella tribe (Cova and Pace 2006); the Surf tribe (Canniford and Shankar 2007; Canniford and Karababa 2013), and the British royal family brand tribe (Otnes and Maclaran 2018) – all examples of consumer tribes that are unpacked in Chapter two. However, this likening of consumers' consumption practices to traditional tribal practices without the inclusion of a tribal society omits essential aspects that can shed more light into both the practices of a tribal society and those of consumers in modern and modernising societies. Furthermore, the claim of likeness does not divulge how an existing tribal society can manifest its tribal culture through consumption practices – an important aspect this thesis addresses. Besides, the claim of likeness to traditional tribes is also problematic because it is not clear whether this coalescing phenomenon is unique to western society, given the tendency for consumer studies to focus on consumption undertaken by western consumers in industrialised societies. Bonsu and Belk (2003: 41) capture this bias in asserting that they sought to address this imbalance when they '…embarked on an inquiry into death-ritual consumption behaviour in an African cultural context to extend consumer research beyond the dominant western philosophical boundaries of thought'.

However, a paucity of consumer studies representing tribal societies remains even as consumer tribes' proponents such as Cova, Kozinets and Shankar (2007) liken western consumer behaviours to tribal behaviours without including traditional tribes (O'Reilly 2012). Hence, by studying traditional tribes that exist today and their consumption practices, this thesis contributes to Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) - not just by studying consumption as a culture, as consumer tribes studies tend to do (such as Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013) - but also how tribal culture can manifest through consumption practices. However, the use of the label 'tribe' to describe human society is problematic and has been contested in anthropology, political studies, and sociology (Bhabha 1994; Ekeh 1975, 1990; Lonsdale 1977; Macarthur 2013; Mafeje 1971; Said 1979; Thiong'o 2009) and even more recently in consumer studies (O'Reilly 2012). Chapter two unpacks the notion of consumer tribes and Chapter three addresses traditional tribes in more detail.

Kenya is chosen as a suitable context for this study because it is a tribal society (Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango 2015) that is experiencing aspects of consumerism owing to modernisation (Business Daily 2018a; Gachino 2009, 2010a), while research also indicates the existence of groups

where people with shared interest coalesce in what is locally known as 'Chama' collectives (Kinyanjui 2014; Mwiti and Goulding 2018). By situating this research in Kenya, this thesis aims to investigate and critically examine why, how and to what extent tribal people use consumption to affirm tribal identities while exploring the relevance of consumer tribes' key tenets to a tribal society that consumes.

1.2 Research context

The Kenyan context is essential and worthy of specific attention because the term tribe holds specific meanings of significance. Kenyans continue to assert ideals that produce a 'tribal society' (Kenyatta 1938; Muriuki 1974; Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango 2015; Nevett and Perry 2001; Njogu, Ngeta, and Wanjau 2010).

1.2.1 Kenya is a tribal society

Kenya is considered a tribal society[3] (Nevett and Perry 2001; Njogu, Ngeta, and Wanjau 2010), consisting of numerous tribes (Gulliver 1969b, 2013; Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango 2015). Within Kenya, people distinguish themselves and are distinguished by others based upon their tribal customs, practices, and cultural-regional criteria (Gluckman 2017; Gulliver 1969b; Kenyatta 1938; Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2009; Lynch 2016; Muriuki 1974).

Kenyan tribes fall under three broad categorisations based on their 'cultural-regional criteria' (Gulliver 1969b: 24) and linguistic similarities (Heine and Mohling 1980; Scotton., Heine & Mohling 1983; Ochieng 1974), under which differing tribal groups emerges:

(i) The Bantu tribes: Linguistically, the Bantu-speaking tribes are numerically the dominant majority, geographically inhabiting mainly the coastal region, South Nyanza, Taita, Western, Eastern, and Central regions of Kenya.

(ii) The Nilotic tribes: Numerically, this is the second largest group in Kenya, thought to have migrated into Kenya from the north of the country where the modern-day Republic of Southern Sudan lies. Currently, they mainly inhabit the Western, Eastern, and Southern Kenya regions.

[3] A tribal society when used here describes '... any group of people which is distinguished by its members and by others, on the basis of cultural-regional criteria' (Gulliver 1969b: 24), typically comprising of related families linked through shared kinship, common language, customs, socio-cultural, economic, rituals and belief systems (Gulliver 2013; Mauss 2002; Sahlins 1968, 2013; Weiner 1988, 1992).

(iii) The Cushitic tribes: This is Kenya's smallest tribal group. Anthropologists present these tribes as the indigenous people of Kenya, spread sparsely in the North Eastern, Eastern and Southern regions of Kenya.

Table 1.1 presents the three broad categorisations of Kenyan tribes with examples of the major tribes from each category. The percentages are estimates based on the data from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS 2009, 2019).

1.1: Ethnic breakdown of Kenyan tribes

Bantu-speaking tribes	**Nilotic-speaking tribes**	**Cushitic-speaking tribes**	**Other smaller tribes combined**
Kikuyu - 17% **Luhya - 14%** **Kamba - 10%** **Kisii - 6%** **Mijikenda - 5%** **Meru – 4.3%**	Kalenjin - 12% Luo - 11% Maasai – 2 %	Turkana - 2.5% Somali tribe – 6 %	Other small indigenous groups - 9% South Asian (Indian) 0.1% Arabs 0.1% White European <0.1% Other Non-African groups - 1%

Source: Kenya Bureau of National Statistics data (KNBS 2009, 2019)

The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2019) estimates the current Kenyan population to be around 49 million people. Anthropologists produced the categorisations of Kenyan tribes shown in Table 1.1 using linguistic similarities and migratory routes into Kenya from the broader African continent and assumed place of origin dating back a millennium, to claim differences in Kenyan's tribal identities (Heine and Mohling 1980). KNBS and national census data claim that there are 43 distinct tribes identified during the 2009 national census based on how Kenyans responded to the question, 'What is (your) tribe?' (KNBS 2009). Following the 2009 Kenya National Census, the Kenyan Government recognised the lobbying by Kenyans of South East Asia ancestry to be formally recognised as a tribe (Kenya Gazette 2017). This culminated in a presidential proclamation published in the Kenya Gazette notice No. 7245 as enshrined in the Constitution of Kenya that confirms '…Kenyans of Asian Heritage constitute…one of the Tribes of Kenya,…[and] that…henceforth the Community of Kenyans of Asian Heritage are Kenya's 44th Tribe' (Kenya Gazette 2017; Kenyatta 2017). For a serving

President of Kenya to sign such a proclamation about a community's identity shows the importance of the tribe as a label to describe society within the Kenyan context.

Paradoxically, the now-Asian tribe of Kenya constitute distinct social groups of people who trace their ancestral origin to pre-colonial Indian sub-continent such as the Punjabi, Marathi, Tamil, and Gujarati people whose ancestors found themselves in Kenya through colonial interference in both India and East Africa (Herzig 2006; Oxford Business Group 2014). Chapter three delves deeper into the implications of colonialism on Kenyan society. To attain tribal recognition, Asians in Kenya - specifically those who are South East Asian by ancestral origin - had to disregard archetypal caste differences and unite under one umbrella. In pursuit of recognition as a tribe, they brought together the otherwise distinct caste-based sub-groups such as the Rajput, Patels, and Mehtas into one Asian community to lobby for recognition as a Kenyan tribe (Herzig 2010), distinguishing themselves from recent post-colonial Indian immigrants to Kenya (Herzig 2006; Herzig 2010). This case further reinforces the author's claim that the 'tribe' holds significant but special meaning to people in Kenya, and so, worthy of consideration – an aspect this thesis addresses.

1.2.2 Kenya is modernising

The current borders of the nation-state of Kenya are based upon a British East African Protectorate in 1893 when the British colonial administration carved Kenya out of the greater East African region (Oxford Business Group 2014; Gjersø 2015). Thus, whereas Kenya may be presently identifiable as a distinct country, its historical origin is inadvertently entwined with the colonial administration's historical past, with Kenyan identity inextricably entwined to British colonialism (Lonsdale 1977, 2008, 2013; Southall 1970).

Since gaining independence, successive Kenyan governments have continued to pursue modernisation[4] of the country's socio-economic institutions (Gachino 2009). Consequently, Kenya has made strides towards modernisation, such as through industrialisation to address development challenges and improve socio-economic institutions (Gachino 2009, 2011a). This commitment to modernisation has enabled Kenya to attract multi-national corporations (MNCs) and foreign direct investments (FDI), especially those from Great Britain and the USA

[4] Modernisation, as used here, describes a process where a country or a society progresses from traditional long-established past's mode of living into a modern one, through the adoption of new practices associated with industrialisation, such as - but not limited to - mechanised production practices, new transport systems, and advancement in technology (Latham 2000, 2010). This description supposes that modernisation is a continuous process.

(Gachino 2010b). The institutions that successive governments have established - such as the Kenya Investment Promotion Council and Vision 2030 initiative - act as catalysts towards Kenya's modernisation process. These institutions enable Kenya to attain a comparative advantage, especially in the manufacturing sector, compared to neighbouring countries (Gachino 2011a, 2011b). However, the majority of the MNCs and other manufacturing sectors tend to locate their operations where the government has established a developed infrastructure, subsequently perpetuating urbanisation as people move from rural areas to urban centres in search of employment (Oxford Business Group 2016). Also, the arrival of MNCs in Kenya such as Bentley, Google, McDonald's, Carrefour chain of supermarkets, and Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) indicates a growing trend of changing consumption practices, subsequently creating consumer demand (Business Daily 2017, 2018a, 2018b). Recent MNCs arrival into Kenya tends to set up businesses in major urban cities in Kenya such as Kisumu, Nairobi, Nakuru, and Nanyuki (Business Daily 2018c), further supporting the earlier point about urbanisation.

While the MNCs' expansion into emerging markets is not unique to the Kenyan context, it is indicative of global convergence akin to what Dholakia and Talukdar (2004) opine in their study of consumption convergence in emerging markets due to western social influences. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that Kenya, like elsewhere in the world, is experiencing some aspects of modernisation akin to what Maffesoli (1996) attributes to the emergence of modern tribes. Maffesoli depicts modern tribes as a response to diminishing social fabric as society expands, subsequently creating a void that western society seeks to fill by '…feeling emotions together' (Maffesoli 2007:27), expressed through collective consumption as in consumer tribes (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). However, prominently absent from consumer studies is research that explores how tribal societies negotiate consumption when face to face with modernisation.

1.2.3 Kenya is home to Chama collectives

Recent studies have emerged that show an existing phenomenon in Kenya, where people coalesce into groups and communally engage in a myriad of activities (Kinyanjui 2012, 2014; Maina 2013; Mwiti and Goulding 2018). The Kiswahili term used to describe these coalescences of people is 'Chama' - which some authors see as a close translation related to the English word 'collectives' (Kinyanjui 2012, 2014; Maina 2013). To avoid confusion, the term 'self-organised collective' is used initially as an adjective and not as a theoretical concept, to

describe this phenomenon where Kenyans coalesce together in what is locally called 'Chama' (Kinyanjui 2012, 2014; Mwiti and Goulding 2018).

So far, no known published studies exist that have investigated how people negotiate consumption within self-organised collectives of Kenyans (Chamas), nor whether practices within them transcends from the wider Kenyan tribal society. Instead, most published work on 'Chama' tend to focus on the economic empowerment of members (Kinyanjui 2012, 2014; Maina 2013), although a recent study by Mwiti and Goulding (2018) extended Chama research to address gender exclusion within marginalised communities. The advent of Chama in Kenya raises an important question of whether the tendency for consumers to coalesce and engage in communal consumption as has been reported in Western contexts (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012) can exists elsewhere, a gap that this thesis addresses.

In sum, Kenya is a modernising country (Gachino 2009, 2011a), a former colony of Great Britain (Gjersø 2015; Lonsdale 1977, 2013), where people still distinguish themselves and others based on their tribal identities (KNBS 2009; Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango 2015; Nevett and Perry 2001). Furthermore, Kenya is a suitable context for this research because of an emerging phenomenon where people coalesce into Chama collectives (Mwiti and Goulding 2018).
With the contextual appropriateness to situate the present study established, the next section outlines the research questions this thesis addresses.

1.3 Research questions

This thesis explores and critically examines consumption practices of consumers situated within a modernising post-colonial tribal society where coalescing of tribal people for a myriad of purposes occurs. In western society, coalescing of consumers around products or issues of mutual interest is depicted as happening in response to the wider society's expansion such as through modernisation (Maffesoli 1996). Subsequently, people in western society are portrayed as seeking connections with others through shared mutual passion for brands - such as in consumer tribes - where they re-enact an ostensibly enchanted tribal past (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Maffesoli 1996; 2007).
With this understanding, two research questions are formulated:

- How, why, and to what extent does a tribal society use consumption to affirm tribal identities? Related to the first question is a sub-question: how do the key principles that underpin consumer tribes compare to a tribal society that consumes?
- What are the consumption characteristics of consumers who coalesce within a modernising tribal society and how does their consumption compare to those of consumer tribes?

To answer these questions, an understanding of consumer tribes and traditional tribes' characteristics and how consumption is negotiated by both type of tribes is considered vital to this thesis. Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice is chosen as the lens to explore distinct practices of tribes. Assemblage theory is also used to understand how and why people coalesce within modernising society around consumption objects. Bourdieu (1977, 1990) argues that human beings transform the world they live in through interactive relationships between social structures and human agency,[5] often expressed through the practices of human actors. Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) view that human agency can transform the world they live in through interactive relationships between social structures and that practices of human actors is an expression of this ability. This posit is also echoed by other researchers such as Giddens (1979, 1984); Ortner (2001); Schatzki (1996, 2008); Nicolini (2012, 2016); Goulding 2018; and Woermann (2017). The concept of practices and related theories are revisited and critically evaluated in Chapter three for their appropriateness in illuminating the present study.

1.4 Theoretical positioning

This thesis is situated within the Consumer Culture Theory (hereafter CCT) and takes an Interpretive Consumer Research[6] (ICR) perspective to address the previous research questions (ICR will be discussed later in chapter 4, section 4.3). Arnould and Thompson (2005), who introduced CCT, describe it as a tradition that '… concerns itself with cultural meanings, sociohistorical influences, and social dynamics that shape consumer experiences and identities in the myriad messy contexts of everyday life' (Arnould and Thompson 2005: 875). These authors submit that CCT is an interdisciplinary research tradition rather than serving one single discipline, with its focus being advancing our understanding of consumer culture. They argue that culture is not homogeneous but rather heterogeneous, and this heterogeneity also extends to

[5] Human agency is a term used here to describe how human beings enact the world they live in through the decisions and choice of actions they make both individually and because of their social situations (Bourdieu 1977, 1979; Giddens 1997/1984).

[6] Within consumer studies, Interpretive Consumer Research describes a paradigm that view a consumer's reality as socially constructed, multiple and contextual dependent (Tadajewski 2006).

consumer culture because of '…the multiplicity of overlapping cultural groupings that exist within the broader sociohistoric frame of globalisation and market capitalism' (Arnould and Thompson 2005: 869). The market is, therefore, a mediating space within which consumers' lived worlds, and their local cultures become interpenetrated '…by the forces of transnational capital and the global mediascape' (Arnould and Thompson 2005: 869). The outcome of this interpenetration and interwoven connections creates what Arnould and Thompson (2005) depict as the consumer culture. This insight is an important illumine to this thesis because the present study explores consumption within a tribal society that is experiencing modernisation, and how aspects of their culture manifest through consumer actions.

Arnould and Thompson (2005: 868) maintain that CCT is '…not a unified, grand theory, nor does it aspire to such nomothetic claims'. Instead, they depict CCT as '…a family of theoretical perspectives that address the dynamic relationships between consumer actions, the marketplace, and cultural meanings'. The authors encourage consumer researchers who situate their work within CCT to widen the scope of theoretical lenses applied to explore consumer actions in the marketplace, whilst still orientating their works towards the cultural complexity of consumer actions. Askegaard and Linnet (2011) echo this call by underlining the importance of broader analytical frameworks for CCT researchers to uncover consumer cultures in the marketplace, whilst highlighting the importance of understanding the context of their research context. It is reasonable to conclude that CCT does not constraint researchers to one single theory but instead focus on advancing our knowledge and understanding of consumption as a culture (Arnould and Thompson 2005; Cova and Cova 2014).

Consequently, CCT is a suitable research tradition to situate the present study because to understand consumption within a tribal society that is experiencing modernisation and consumerism, different theoretical lenses are vital in offering insight into, and understanding of tribal consumers' lived worlds. As already mentioned, Kenya is a tribal society (sub-section 1.2.1); that is experiencing modernisation (sub-section 1.2.2); where a phenomenon of self-organised collectives of people happens in the marketplace (sub-section 1.2.3). As will be shown in Chapters 2 and 3, these phenomena are better understood by drawing upon different, yet suitable theoretical perspectives to explore and explain consumer actions in the marketplace of a tribal society's cultural context.

Reflecting on CCT research over the last 20 years, Arnould and Thompson (2005) noted that the tradition addressed how consumers were using consumption to experience a myriad of 'realities', including identity, desires and fantasies. CCT studies primarily tend to have research streams that focus on sociohistorical consumption, experiential, symbolic and ideological aspects of consumption (Arnould and Thompson 2005; Arnould and Thompson 2007; Askegaard and Linnet 2011).

Arnould and Thompson (2005) identify four prominent research projects within which consumer researchers tend to situate their work. These are:

- consumer identity projects
- marketplace cultures
- mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers' interpretive strategies
- the socio-historic patterning of consumption.

This thesis takes the perspectives of marketplace cultures and socio-historic patterning of consumption owing to their relationship with the research topic. Consumer researchers following the CCT tradition tend to make contributions within these four projects. Ontologically, researchers that situate their work within CCT typically follow a relativist, naturalistic, postmodernist, and interpretive perspectives (Cova, Maclaran and Bradshaw 2013). Chapter 4 unpacks why this study situates within the Interpretive Consumer Research (ICR) paradigm (section 4.3). Yet it is vital to mention here that from an ICR perspective, consumers' reality is socially constructed and contextual (Askegaard and Linnet 2011; Tadajewski 2006). Marketplace cultures and socio-historic patterning of consumption are especially vital illumines to the present study, because this study's contribution revolves around these projects (section 1.5). The Chama coalesces in Kenya exists within a modernising tribal society's cultural context (section 1.2).

1.5 Contribution

By addressing this study's aim and research questions, this thesis contributes to the field of consumer behaviour through uncovering the motivations behind tribal people's coalescing in tribal collectives, while remaining within the wider Kenya's tribal society.

This thesis critically explores and reveals not only the motivation to coalesce with others, but also how and why consumption practices are negotiated within diverse tribal collectives (TCs) to acquire and conspicuously display tribal cultural capital - both within their respective coalescence and the wider Kenyan society. This understanding has practical implications. For example, with this insight, marketing practitioners can effectively adapt strategies to a context where tribal identity holds special meanings of significance to the consumers at both individual and at the wider societal level.

This thesis also makes a theoretical contribution by revealing how and why tribal societies experiencing modernisation pursue tribal cultural capital, that, once acquired, is then used to negotiate for personal and the wider tribes' position within the wider Kenyan society. By critically examining society's expressive consumption practices, this thesis reveals how and why Kenyan tribes affirm their tribal identities. Finally, this thesis contributes to consumer behaviour by showing how tribal meanings cross boundaries from a tribal society-constituted world of meanings into the modern marketplace with associated implications.

1.6 Thesis structure

This thesis is structured into seven further chapters.

Chapter two critically explores the link between modernisation and consumer behaviour. Two theoretical concepts relevant to this thesis are critically examined for appropriateness in illuminating the understanding of traditional tribes that coalesce and consume within a modernising tribal society. Specifically, Chapter two examines the assemblage theory and the notion of consumer tribes.

Chapter three critically explores the origin of the 'tribe' label and assesses its appropriateness as a discursive label to describe social groups of people. Contextualising the discussion to Kenyan tribal society, Chapter three appraises the appropriateness of the notion of practices as an essential framework to help comprehend and examine the vital role that tribal human agents play as carriers of tribal tradition.

Chapter four describes the methodology. This chapter justifies the research methods and methodology adopted in studying consumption within Kenya's modernising tribal society.

Chapter five presents findings that show Kenya is a thriving tribal society but with changing practices attributable to consumerism and modernisation. This chapter reveals how informants,

when faced with modernisation, respond by using consumption to affirm and perpetuate their tribal identities.

Chapter six, in line with research question two, shows the consumption characteristics of tribal people coalescing for diverse purposes, but primarily drawn together by a shared mutual interest in re-enacting tribal customs. This chapter illustrates the emergent conformations of coalescing tribes whose gatherings appears to have some aspects of assemblages.

Chapter seven presents a critical discussion of the emergent themes from Chapters five and six. Unpacking the emergent themes extends the current understanding of tribal socialisations and evolving tribes when faced with modernisation while exploring the relevance of consumer tribes' key tenets to traditional tribes that collectively consume.

Chapter eight concludes this thesis and shows how the theoretical and practical contributions are achieved by answering this thesis' research aim and questions.

1.7 Conclusion

This introductory chapter outlined the rationale behind the study. The chapter began by setting out the background of the study and highlighting the problem that the research tackles. The phenomenon where consumers in western industrialised countries coalesce into consumer tribes is discussed and the contentious issue of characterising their marketplace behaviours to traditional tribes identified. This was followed by an overview of the research context. Situating the research in a modernising tribal society where tribal people are known to gather for a myriad of purposes is justified. The chapter then outlined the research questions, research contribution, and finally a synopsis of the thesis structure.

Chapter 2. Consumption, consumer tribes and marketplace collectives

2.1 Introduction

It is important to explore the link between modernisation and consumer behaviour to fully appreciate how and why consumption happens in the way it does in both modern and modernising societies. This chapter discusses different perspectives on consumption, followed by an exploration of how modernisation influences changes in consumption practices. The advent of shared consumption practices in western society is explored, with a focus on consumer tribes. It establishes the conceptual foundation of consumer tribes alongside an exploration of the link between modernisation and changing consumer behaviour. The chapter then examines the characterisation of western consumer tribes, their consumption practices and how consumer tribes differ from other communal consumption collectives in the western marketplace. Consumption collectives and the notion of assemblages are introduced as lenses to explore the coalescence of consumers in the marketplace. The chapter assesses the significance of consumer tribes to this research while examining the limitations of conceptualising consumers as tribes.

2.2 Consumption and modernisation

Understanding why consumption happens is pivotal in locating the consumption practices of consumer tribes within the different consumption perspectives for later analysis against traditional tribes' consumption practices. This section examines the reasons for consumption and the effect of consumption on consumers' lives. The notion of modernisation and the contentious presumption that traditional societies must abandon their traditions for western industrialised countries' way of life to truly modernise (Adas 1989; Rostow 1959, 1990) is also critically explored, focusing on its effect on society's consumption practices.

2.2.1 The reasons for consumption

It is now well established from a variety of consumer studies that different interpretations exist regarding what consumption entails and why it happens. Sheth, Newman and Gross (1991) theorisation of consumption values highlight a variety of debates around why consumption happens, concluding that consumption for functional purposes is insufficient to explain why consumers buy what they buy. These authors reject the idea of consumption happening purely

for utility functions, instead arguing that consumption is driven by multiple values besides the utility one, such as 'social value' and 'emotional value' reasons (Sheth, Newman and Gross 1991: 160). In contrast to Sheth, Newman and Gross (1991) posit, the idea of consumption happening for functional reasons purports that consumers pursue rational self-interest through consumption to satisfy their individual needs. This perspective also supposes that consumers typically choose the products that give them maximum value for their money (Henrich et al. 2005; Worthington, Britton and Rees 2001, 2005). The assumption behind functional based consumption is that people choose what they consume based on the utility of the consumption object (Henrich et al. 2005). Following this line of reasoning, goods are acquired and consumed for their functionality. However, this perspective is a problematic proposition because consumers do not always act rationally as evidenced by numerous studies that corroborate Sheth, Newman and Gross's (1991) earlier perspective. There is overwhelming evidence from consumer researchers such as Belk (1988, 2013); Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry (1989); Cova, Kozinets and Shankar (2007); Cova and Pace (2006); Hirschman and Holbrook (1992) and Otnes and Maclaran (2018) that consumption can happen for non-utilitarian purposes.

Earlier consumer studies by Hirschman and Holbrook (1982) and McCracken (1986) also claims that goods act as meaning receptacles and are consumed not because of their practical abilities but rather for the meanings they represent. McCracken (1986) contends that a culturally constituted world of meanings can find its way into consumption goods or possessions, such as through cultural meanings appropriation onto consumption objects. Once the culturally constituted world of meanings enters the consumption object, the object is consumed primarily because of its inherent meaning rather than for its utility purposes. Recent consumer tribe studies support this claim, such as the British royal family (BRF) tribe that was investigated by Otnes and Maclaran (2007, 2018). Here, meanings associated with the British royal family are appropriated to objects and then consumed by the BRF tribe because they are assumed to represent British cultural heritage. This example echoes an earlier study that claimed appropriation of sacred values of significance onto consumption objects unique to a given community (Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry 1989).

Recently, a study exploring brand masculinity and the semiotics of guns in the United States (Hirschman 2014) depicts gun possession as an example of meaning receptacles within consumption objects. Hirschman (2014) argues that possession of guns in the US is appropriated

self-preservation symbolism arising from America's social and cultural past. Using US political history to underscore that goods act as meaning receptacles, Hirschman (2014) emphasises that US society appropriates meanings to gun possession either because of political cycles they have experienced or have been conditioned to fear, such as a tyrannical Central government or chaos due to foreign enemies. This example suggests that by studying the meanings usurped to consumption objects, one can gain a window into a society's cultural past and values. The material holdings that people consume can tell us something about their past, present values whilst revealing their perception of individual and group selves (Schau 1998). This view corroborates an earlier study in the US by O'Guinn and Belk (1989) that involved understanding the meanings patrons appropriated to the Heritage Village.[7] O'Guinn and Belk's (1989) conclusion, reinforced by Schau (1998), is that visitors to the Heritage Village used consumption practices to assert and affirm their religious values and beliefs. They were actively seeking religious experiences through consumption, an indication of their personal and group values not necessarily related to consumption for utilitarian purposes (O'Guinn and Belk 1989; Schau 1998).

Through consumption practices, consumers can also extend the image they have of themselves through the objects they acquire and possess, both in physical (Belk 1988) and in virtual spaces (Belk 2013). Here, possessions are imbued with consumer values, consequently evolving into extensions of themselves (Belk 1988, 2013). This perspective helps in exploring consumer and traditional tribes' consumption practices. The act of consumption can also 'carry and communicate cultural meanings' (McCracken, 1986: 71) while also performing a utility function (Henrich et al. 2005). As McCracken (1986) argues, cultural meanings move from society to the consumer goods and then back to the consumer. Through this back and forth movement of cultural meanings, McCracken submits that the consumed object and the consumer becomes the 'way-station of meaning' (McCracken 1986: 71). If McCracken's (1986) depiction of consumption is true, then it is reasonable also to accept Belk's claim that 'we cannot hope to understand consumer behaviour without first gaining some understanding of the meanings that consumers attach to possessions' (Belk 1988: 139). Pivotal to this research is knowledge of the meanings behind tribal cultural practices, which is necessary given the possibility that these

[7] The Heritage Village (USA) was a Christian-based theme park started by American televangelist James Orsen Bakker who was affiliated to the Assemblies of God church.

might find their way into consumption objects without the objects being consumed necessarily for their utility.

Consumption within a given context generally involves values and meanings transfer (McCracken 1986), which can be expressed at individual or group levels (Belk 1988, 2013; Otnes and Maclaran 2007, 2018). Likewise, the values appropriated to consumption objects can express individual or group identities, for instance, an extension of one's self through possessed objects (Belk 1988, 2013) and expressing membership of a consumer tribe (Otnes and Maclaran 2007, 2018). The subsequent discussion is essential, particularly when exploring how and to what extent modernisation affects the meanings transfer and subsequently consumption practices.

2.2.2 Modernisation and changing consumption practices

In the western society from where modernisation theory emerges (Adas 1989; Gilman 2003; Latham 2000; Parsons 1951), traditional social structures from a long-established past are assumed to decline, their influence on society diminished as modernisation becomes established (Appadurai 1996; Giddens 1991). Further attributed to modernisation are phenomena such as industrialisation, rapid urbanisation, the growth of capitalism, the onset of individualism and the replacement of traditional societal structures with formalised socio-political and economic systems (Appadurai 1996; Gachino 2009; Giddens 1991; Inglehart and Baker 2000). Extant literature indicates that as a country modernises, traditional social, economic and cultural institutions are replaced and altered by modern institutions encompassing the nation-state[8] (Berger 2003; Sweeney 2014). For example, within modern society, social conflicts are resolved through a political-legal system rather than being through traditional social institutions (Adas 1989; Berger 2003; Rostow 1959, 1990).

However, modernisation theory starts with a problematic assumption. Responses to modernisation across societies differ, questioning the theory's universality, applicability and impact on diverse cultures and associated values. For example, whereas several studies accept the argument that modernisation alters society politically and socio-culturally (Adas 1989; Berger

[8] The nation state describes 'a political entity that is coterminous with a territory and represented by a government that is recognised as having legitimate authority or sovereignty, over that territory and the people who live in it' (Sweeney 2014: 38-39). Nation states are recognised in international law and by international institutions such as the United Nations and World Trade Organisation and typically have a recognised official language and distinguishing nation-state symbols, such as a national anthem and flag (Sweeney 2014).

2003; Gilman 2015; Latham 2000, 2010; Inglehart 1990, 1997), others question this opinion, maintaining that some aspects of traditions can endure even when faced with modernisation (Inglehart and Baker 2000; DiMaggio 1994; Stockemer and Sundström 2016; Tipps 1973). Stockemer and Sundström (2016) argues that even with modernisation's opined roots in Western societies, their study of 285 European regions illustrated that modernisation theory is not universally applicable – at least in their case exploring changes in cultural attitudes towards gender representation of women. Stockemer and Sundström (2016) concluded that modernisation is a multifaceted concept that cannot be measured by one indicator alone. Exposing these limitations of universality is important for this study situated in a modernising traditional tribal society. If Stockemer and Sundström's (2016) interpretations are true, then modernisation does not necessarily result in the abandonment of traditional societal values and practices. It is compelling to suppose that one country's modernisation process is not necessarily replicable elsewhere. Undeniably, from their 285 societies studied, the revelation was that individual culturally embedded attitudes towards women meant that gender inequality persists in Western society. Thus, the authors echo Inglehart and Baker's (2000: 49) earlier assertion that modernisation, while changing some societal values, will still 'continue to reflect a society's cultural heritage'. Inglehart and Baker's study of 65 societies concluded that 'both massive cultural change and the [enduring] persistence of [some] distinctive traditional values' (ibid) occurred as societies experienced modernisation. Accordingly, modernisation can be presumed to alter some cultural values while also acknowledging and retaining some aspects of traditional cultural values. An institution such as the British monarchy is evidence of a society's past that has existed for many centuries and adapted even as the country modernised (Balmer 2011; Otnes and Maclaran 2007, 2018). This challenges the assertion that traditional social structures from a long-established bygone past diminish with modernisation (Adas 1989; Rostow 1959, 1990) and instead suggest society's ability to perpetuate its past through progressive social construction.

The assumption that modernisation happens when society follows similar processes to the ones followed by Western industrialised societies such as the US (Adas 1989; Latham 2000, 2010; Rostow 1959, 1990) is thus contentious. For example, Berger (2003) rejects the assumption that a country seeking to modernise must emulate the Western industrialised countries. Likewise, the assumption that traditional societies in under-developed and developing countries must replace their old institutions with Western ones to modernise has also been questioned by Inglehart and Welzel (2006, 2010), who nevertheless accept that progress can still be possible

and some values may be adopted but without necessarily abandoning traditional values and institutions (Inglehart and Baker 2000). Mücen (2018) goes even further and questions the reliability of the ontological principles that construct the modernisation theory's object of analysis. Mücen (2018) argues that scholarship in modernisation theory is also methodologically limited and skewed towards a depiction of non-western societies as only capable of attaining modernisation through emulating modernisation approaches followed by western societies. Yet, whereas different studies claim that modernisation alters a society's culture and values (Berger 2003; Gilman 2015; Inglehart 1990, 1997) while retaining some traditional values (Inglehart and Baker 2000; Mücen 2018; Stockemer and Sundström 2016), few explain how a given society negotiates their traditional cultural values when faced with the inevitable pressures of modernisation. Nevertheless, the different perspectives all concur that, inadvertently, modernisation influences society.

The above different perspectives on modernisation are essential to this study. Modernisation involves evolving practices and the replacement of some traditional social, economic and cultural institutions with modern institutions encompassing the nation-state (Berger 2003; Rostow 1959, 1990; Sweeney 2014) and the adoption of new practices associated with industrialisation and technology (Latham 2000, 2010). Kenya fits this depiction of a modernising country (Gachino 2010a, 2010b; 2011a). Modernisation consists of and is influenced by cultural and social change. However, research into how a traditional tribal society like Kenya keeps its long-established tribal customs relevant when faced with modernisation is an under-researched phenomenon.

Modernisation is also relevant to this study because, within the consumer behaviour domain of marketing, several studies have emerged that describe a phenomenon where consumers respond to modernisation by coalescing around a marketplace product of mutual passion (Canniford 2011; Cova and Cova 2001, 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012; Otnes and Maclaran 2007, 2018). The assumption is that this coalescence occurs not only because consumers share a mutual passion for the product, but also due to a shared appeal to re-enact an enchanted bygone past (Cova and Cova 2001; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012) when society used to exist as tribes (Cova and Cova 2001; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012; Maffesoli 1996, 2007). Consumer researchers who subscribe to this notion describe the phenomenon of consumers' coalescing around marketplace goods as 'consumer tribes', ostensibly because their members display characteristics akin to those of traditional tribes (Canniford 2011; Cova

and Cova 2001, 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007, 2012; Otnes and Maclaran 2007, 2018).

2.3 Consumer tribes

The notion of consumer tribes is based on the assumption that, as society expands, the presumed fabric that once held it together diminishes creating a void which then allures people to coalesce around a product of mutual passion in search of links with others (Maffesoli 1996, 2007; Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007). The link with others, once attained, is reinforced through repetitive communal practices (Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013). Maffesoli (1996) argues that the need to belong with others in modern society produces modern tribes due to societal fragmentation as people coalesce in search of 'feeling emotions together' and so seek a return to an archaic form of community (Maffesoli 2007: 27). This tribe metaphor is used to describe western consumer behaviours by proponents such as Cova and Cova (2002), Cova and Pace (2006), Cova, Kozinets and Shankar (2007) and by Canniford (2011), who prominently draw on Maffesoli's (1996, 2007) notion of modern tribes. This notion coupled with empirical evidence of increased communal consumption through self-organised marketplace coalescing of people, has led them to conclude that consumer marketplace behaviours are like those of traditional tribes.

2.3.1 Conceptual foundations of consumer tribes

Consumer tribes emerged in western societies due to an inherent human desire to belong with others, a consequence of the void created when society expands and modernises, leading to communes and societal connections disintegrating within society (Cova 1997; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Maffesoli 1996, 2007). This drive to be with others sharing mutual interests is comparable to the collective consciousness described by Durkheim (1912) as a need existing within human society. Durkheim claims that collective consciousness happens when a social group becomes united through shared beliefs, traditions and customary practices (Durkheim 1912; Smith 2014; Habermas 1989; Maffesoli 1996; Murray 2017). If the claim of collective consciousness in society is true, then a void created by society fragmentation (Maffesoli 1996, 2007) can lead people to seek a greater communal re-connection with others through consumer tribes (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007). Communal existence is said to have existed in pre-modern times (Durkheim 1912; Smith 2014), and being outside of a social group opens one to feelings of isolation and alienation (Durkheim 1912, 1951; Habermas 1989; Maffesoli 1996, 2007; Murray 2017). Maffesoli (1996, 2007) argues that the void and feelings of isolation are

produced by society's expansion, leading to a loss of binding social fabric like communal belonging. This leads to an attempt by society to be together, hence the re-establishment of shared beliefs and collective attitudes which unify members of a given fragment of society (Maffesoli 2007), such as in consumer tribes (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). Maffesoli claims that the resulting fragments of society re-establish themselves through the mimicry of social links that once held society together by 'feeling emotions together' (Maffesoli 2007:27), hence, the inference of likeness to the collective consciousness and traditional tribes.

Consumer tribe theorists argue that emotions are felt together in western modern society through sharing a mutual passion for goods or services. The societal fragments of sharing feelings coalesce through repetitive rituals collectively reenchanted, subsequently providing the foundations of a community with characteristics akin to traditional tribes (Cova 1997; Cova and Cova 2002; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013; Maffesoli 2007). Due to their conception within modern society alongside their re-enactment and re-enchantment of presumed bygone tribal-like practices, Maffesoli refers to these as modern tribes (Maffesoli 1996: 79). He maintains that their fundamental tenets lie in their effectual nebula, un-directed being together, religious model, elective sociality and maintaining a law of secrecy. Maffesoli premises that western society in the bygone past existed as tribes, hence the justification that new fragments of society are modern tribes lie in their display of behavioural practices akin to traditional tribes (Maffesoli 1996, 2007). Here, collective participation in the modern tribe's practices emphasises and nurtures a sense of belonging with the tribe and solidarity with others in the tribe, while producing the illusion of experiencing a bygone past.

Regrettably, Maffesoli's theorisation of modern tribes does not include empirical evidence from a traditional tribal society to support their characterisation as mimicry. The social fabric that held pre-modern society together is mentioned only in passing, omitting a detailed evaluation of traditional tribes' social fabric such as kinship, tribal rituals and customs (Sahlins 2011, 2013). In contrast to the pre-modern society, western society is also depicted as individualistic and lacking strong social bonds, hence the emergence of modern tribes (Maffesoli 1996). The modern tribes cannot force members to show solidarity or stay within the tribe. Consequently, Maffesoli (1996: 79) implies that modern tribes are based around voluntary belonging, described as 'un-directed being together' where members share feelings; within 'a community of ideas [… structured] beyond particularities and individuals'. It is by re-enchanting and practising repetitive rituals mimicking an imagined bygone past that modern tribes produce mutual

feelings of connectedness and solidarity. Maffesoli equates this re-enchanting and practising repetitive rituals to a 'religious model' akin to the one Durkheim postulated about the Australian tribes – a religion with a social context (Maffesoli 1996: 82). Fundamental to this religious model and modern tribes are the collective experiences of the linking product, brand or activity that is central to modern tribes' sociality and feelings of the community (Maffesoli 1996). However, the notion of modern tribes and the underlying assumptions are less convincing when compared to traditional tribes and their characteristics.

2.3.2 Consumer tribes by practice

Several consumer researchers appear to accept Maffesoli's (1996) conceptualisation of modern tribes, not only drawing on this notion but also advancing it in their exploration and depiction of consumers' marketplace behaviour (Canniford 2011; Canniford and Shankar 2007; Cova 1997; Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Goulding and Saren 2007, 2009; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013; Otnes and Maclaran 2018). However, there seem to be different variations in the terms used to describe the modern tribe phenomenon, although the tribal metaphor remains widely shared. For example, we saw earlier the term 'consumer tribe' being used to describe coalescing of consumers around products (section 1:1). 'Brand tribe' is used when the emphasis is on the brand as the unifying linking value (Otnes and Maclaran 2007, 2018) and 'E-tribe' to emphasise the electronic internet-based spaces where consumers coalesce (Kozinets 1999, 2001).

Regardless of the metaphoric tribe reference to marketplace consumer behaviours, these descriptions appear to echo Cova and Cova's conceptualisation of consumer tribes. To them (2002: 602), the tribe in the modern marketplace describes:

'a network of heterogeneous persons in terms of age, sex, income, etc. - who are linked by a shared passion or emotion; a tribe is capable of collective action, its members are not simply consumers, they are also advocates'.

Given the widely used metaphor, it is reasonable to conclude that consensus exists among consumer researchers studying Western Europe and North America that consumers' marketplace behaviours display tribal-like behaviours (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007). For example, the acceptance of consumers as tribes is evident in studies of consumption practices that are presumed to bring into the marketplace tribal-like behaviours through the collective re-enactment of rituals akin to those of traditional tribes (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and

Shankar 2007). The roles played by coalescing consumers are also likened to those of traditional tribes (Cova and Cova 2002; Kozinets 1999, 2001; Mitchell and Imrie 2011; Otnes and Maclaran 2007). The importance of comprehending acts of consumers as akin to those of tribes is highlighted by Canniford (2011) in his call to appropriately manage consumer tribes. Identification and understanding of how consumer tribes form to engage with them effectively and gain marketing leverage is a pivotal response to modern tribes according to Canniford (2011) and to Goulding, Shankar and Canniford (2013).

By engaging in shared practices in the marketplace, tribal behaviour can be learned through shared interests and activities (Canniford 2011). Goulding, Shankar and Canniford (2013) claim that joint practices create opportunities for new members to learn about the tribe's identity and values from existing ones. This learning diminishes the individual's previous identity as a new marketplace communal identity becomes more alluring and is perpetuated through repetitive collective rituals. Goulding, Shankar and Canniford (2013: 826) stress that 'communities of practice require learned socialisation through the development of competencies and commitment' expected of the marketplace tribe. Learning to be tribal by emulating others in the marketplace (Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013; Mamali, Nuttall and Shankar 2018) can be likened to the creation of a social identity where 'internalisation of collective identifications' occurs (Jenkins 2008: 112). This line of reasoning is what Maffesoli (2007: 27) describes as 'feeling emotions together'. Here, members become habituated to a shared collective consciousness (Mathiesen 2010; Schweikard and Schmid 2013; Smith 2014), through repetitive rituals collectively practised in the marketplace (Cova and Cova 2002; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013). An example of these rituals is goths' mimicry of vampirism (Goulding and Saren 2009; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013). Such rituals create a sense of solidarity with other members comparable to traditional tribes' collective consciousness (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova and Pace 2006; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013).

However, unlike traditional tribes, this marketplace tribal behaviour is generative learning and not inherited inter-generationally (Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013; Kenyatta 2015; Mauss 2002). Despite this, the learned marketplace tribal behaviours are still likened to those of traditional tribes (Cova and Cova 2002), despite the paucity of evidence to support the similarity claim between the two types of tribes (O'Reilly 2012). The prominent omission of traditional tribes in studies of consumer tribes that nevertheless continue to liken consumers' marketplace behaviours to traditional tribes is thus problematic. O'Reilly (2012: 345) highlights

this omission as central to the problem of comparing the two types of tribes primarily because, unlike consumer tribes, traditional tribes constitute 'the extremely rich classical, traditional or more strictly anthropological theory of tribes with its many detailed studies of tribal practices'. Without the inclusion of the rich theory of traditional tribes and their practices, O'Reilly (2012) contests the existence of any theoretical link between the two types of tribes. Cova and Cova (2002) recognise some challenging characteristics of consumer tribes, such as their constantly shifting emotional links and open systems where anyone can move into or out of a tribe at will, while traditional tribes are enduring (Gluckman 2004; Gulliver 1969a). O'Reilly's (2012) questioning of a theoretical link between consumer tribes and traditional tribes does not include empirical data, and this thesis combines a critical examination of both theoretical and empirical data from both consumer and traditional tribes.

Unlike consumer tribes, social groups of people who distinguish themselves and are distinguished by others as tribes base this on cultural-regional criteria (Gulliver 1969a, Gluckman 2004, 2017; Southall 1970), typically relying on a central source of power to maintain social order such as a tribal council of elders (Kenyatta 1938), a tribal chief (Deng 1997) or a king (Kaplowitz 2014). Traditional tribes are typically organised along kinship lines, often in a transparent hierarchical social organisation sharing a belief in 'mutuality of being' (Sahlins 2013). Members of a tribe see themselves in 'one another's existence', therefore representing an 'inter-subjective belonging' (Sahlins 2013: 2). In traditional tribal societies, collective consciousness happens not through marketplace goods or brands as in consumer tribes (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007), but rather through shared beliefs of common ancestry and customs (Gulliver 1969a, Gluckman 2004, 2017; Kenyatta 1938; Luongo 2012; Mbiti 1969; Muriuki and Sobania 2007; Southall 1970; Weiner 1992).

2.3.3 Consumption and consumer tribes

From the preceding section, it is reasonable to conclude that understanding consumer tribes is difficult not just because of why they emerge, but also because of how they are organised and the complexities surrounding their consumption practices and because of consumer tribes. Consumer tribes are short-lived, linked primarily by their shared emotions towards a consumption object (Cova and Cova 2002). Joint consumption is pivotal for their survival (Cova and Cova 2002). They typically engage in consumption practices for non-utility purposes, such as for emotional connections with others (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007). Here, consumer tribes

do not just acquire and use goods, but form communities around the shared consumption of goods and services (Canniford and Shankar 2011).

The link established through mutual consumption is arguably more important to the consumer than the utility function of the mutually shared goods or services (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013). The consumption object remains vital to the consumer tribe because it is primarily what brings and holds the tribe together (Cova and Cova 2002). After all, they maintain their social links through repetitive rituals surrounding the goods or services of mutual interest (Cova and Pace 2006). They tribes rarely use goods or services 'even the most mundane ones – without adding to them, grappling with them, blending them with their own lives and altering them' (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007: 4). They appropriate meaning to the goods and services which produces a co-dependent relationship with the commercial world. Therefore, they are co-creators of meanings for the goods (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007) which. This co-dependent relationship with the commercial world is what they bring to the marketplace through their imagined socio-historical situations through meanings appropriated to goods.

For example, in the British Royal Family (BRF) tribe studied by Otnes and Maclaran (2007, 2018), members make their contemporary lives meaningful through the collective consumption of British heritage. They consume heritage by establishing communal rituals around the royal family for their gratification and 'express aspects of their individual personalities' (Otnes and Maclaran 2007: 57). Such is the allure of being one with the British royal family that BRF tribe members coalesce to celebrate major royal family events such as births, marriages and memorial days. They collect royal family memorabilia and ordinary objects such as mugs and jugs with appropriated social-historic meanings relating to the royal family (Otnes and Maclaran 2018) and co-create meanings for the ordinary goods about which they collectively share a passion such as mugs (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007). This tribe brings socio-historic situations relating to the royal family, such as special days appropriated with royal family meanings (Otnes and Maclaran 2018). Here, we see that the BRF tribe exemplifies some aspects of traditional tribes where shared beliefs of socio-historical situations influence individual practices (Gluckman 2004, 2017). This tribe also contained some non-British members, suggesting a lack of a cultural or regional criterion (Gulliver 1969a; Luongo 2012; Weiner 1992).

Consumers have also been shown to use shared consumption practices to challenge socio-historic conventions rather than re-enact socio-historic situations. For example, Goulding and Saren (2009) demonstrated how the goth subculture cuts across social classes and gendered assumptions of the past to create a tribe with its own rules and norms. By doing so, the goths construct and express themselves without necessarily conforming to traditional conventions, although they advance a vampire myth from the past. So, like the BRF tribe, the goths produce a co-dependent relationship with the marketplace through meaning appropriation while also creating new styles, such as in hair and shoes, music and sexual undercurrents mixing vampirism with modern realities which 'violates the norms of femininity and masculinity' (Goulding and Saren 2009: 29).

Consumerism and modernisation influence consumption in consumer tribes. For example, Canniford and Shankar's (2007) study of surfing culture noted how aspects of the socio-historical situation associated with colonial discourse created tribal-like consumption of surfing, producing a consumption culture based on consumers' and marketers' re-appropriation of tribal symbolism to commoditise it. The surfers' and the marketplace's co-dependency produced meanings which consumers and marketers imbued onto consumption of goods and services. It is conceivable that consumerism has influenced the emergence and perpetuation of consumer tribes (Canniford and Shankar 2007; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). This inference agrees with researcher's earlier assertion that modernisation produces cultural and social change.
Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that aspects of the consumer tribe phenomena are consumer responses influenced by modernisation and associated consumerism (Canniford 2011 Canniford and Shankar 2007; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012; Cova and Pace 2006). If this is accurate, a similar phenomenon can exist in a modernising tribal society such as Kenya (Gachino 2010a, 2011b; Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango 2015).

In sum, consumer tribes are not passive recipients of marketing information, but rather active participants in the marketplace (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007). They engage not only in communal consumption, but also appropriate meanings to objects of consumption (Canniford and Shankar 2007; Goulding and Saren 2009; Otnes and Maclaran 2018). Unsurprisingly, studies have emerged that advocate a deeper understanding of tribal behaviour in the modern marketplace (Canniford 2011; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013) and various consumer studies in western contexts indicate the existence of diverse and distinct configurations of consumers involved in mutual practices.

2.3.4 The significance of consumer tribe studies

Several consumer researchers who advocate the notion of consumer tribes also claim that organisational benefits can be derived from positive engagement with them (Canniford 2011; Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Cova and Pace 2006; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013; Fournier and Lee 2009; Mamali, Nuttal and Shankar 2018; Otnes and Maclaran 2018). Using the brand Salomon as an example, Cova and Cova (2002) demonstrate how, in 1994, an outdated traditional brand known for its winter products found popularity among a consumer tribe of snowboarders. They found that, by 1999, the marketers' engagement with this tribe had pushed Salomon to become the third-most-popular snowboard and in-line skating brand. Competitors such as Nike and Fila were depicted as losing out because they failed to acknowledge and engage with their consumers as consumer tribes. Cova and Cova (2002) claim that Nike and Fila failed to recognise what had attracted their consumers in the first place and the 'linking value' that brings consumers together. They concluded that Salomon succeeded because 'they humbly approached the tribe; they did not seek to get a market foothold, but to join a tribe and to support its rituals' (Cova and Cova 2002: 612). Here, we see aspects of consumerism and manipulation of consumer tribes for mutual gain between consumers and marketers.

Second, is the success of the 'Nutella the community' website which has been attributed to parent company Ferrero's recognition of the counter-power of the Nutella tribe through 'inversion between marketing the producer and its brand – and marketing the consumer' (Cova and Pace 2006: 1102). Consumer tribes 'rarely consume brands and products without altering them' through the addition of and 'blending them with their own lives' (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007: 4). The object of consumption is often infused with meanings that members of the tribe accept and link. Here, we again see mutual benefit in that consumers empower themselves through co-creating and appropriation of meanings onto the product while Ferrero's brand gains recognition.

The third is the American beer, Pabst Blue Ribbon (PBR), which benefitted from consumers' search for liking value through their beer. Pabst was saved from diminishing sales in 2001 and rebounded to become a successful brand in the US – arguably because its fans 'inscribed their own meanings on the brand' (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007: 11). The inscribed meaning was a form of expressed solidarity with workers in the company who risked losing their jobs if

the company went bankrupt. Consequently, without any marketer intervention, the brand gained new users who were linked through their solidarity (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007). While these examples are not exhaustive, they indicate some of the significance of understanding consumer tribes as important for successful engagement with consumers.

If these examples are representative, then it is fair to conclude that researching the communal consumption of tribal societies in a modernising country could also have potential marketing opportunities. However, it is not without its limitations.

2.3.5 Limitations of conceptualising marketplace cultures as tribes

The notion of consumer tribes is widely reported in western consumer studies that use data derived from the west (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007), although absent from these studies is data from traditional tribes in non-western societies (O'Reilly 2012). Consumer tribe researchers tend to focus prominently on modern marketplace consumerism, depicting communal consumption as a practice-based reminiscent of a time when society was organised as tribes (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007). Several scholars depict them as inherently unstable collectives, always in a state of flux (Cova and Cova 2001), in contrast to traditional tribes which have endured despite their many challenges (Kenyatta 1938; Muriuki 1974; Nevett and Perry 2001).

Although Canniford (2011: 592 - 594) attempts to distinguish 'subcultures of consumption', 'brand communities' and 'consumer tribes', the notion of a consumer tribe is still obscured by the different terms used to describe it. A subculture of consumption is typically used where strong interpersonal bonds are established through a shared commitment to a product, bonds strong enough to create a subgroup in wider society (Schouten and McAlexander 1995). Brand community is a term often used where the brand is the focal point for collective consumption (Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Schau and Muniz 2005). Cova, Kozinets and Shankar (2007) highlight the many descriptions of consumer marketplace behaviour – such as consumer tribes (section1.1), subcultures of consumption and brand communities (sub-section 2.3.2), revealing how these are sometimes used interchangeably. This tendency for scholars to use different terms to describe consumer's marketplace coalesces has led to Thomas, Schau and Price (2013) to propose consumption collectives as a unifying term, a call echoed by Närvänen and Goulding (2016).

2.4 Consumption collectives

In the last two decades, consumer studies have emerged that explores collective consumption and consumer engagement with products and brands in a variety of contexts. As mentioned above, different terms have been used to describe this collective consumption phenomenon, such as subcultures of consumption (Schouten and McAlexander 1995); brand communities (Fournier and Lee 2009; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001); consumer tribes (Canniford 2011; Cova and Cova 2002). Most recently, consumer researchers such as Närvänen and Goulding (2016) have called for a more unifying term - consumption collective - to describe the subcultures of consumption, brand communities and consumer tribes. Närvänen and Goulding (2016) argue that using a unifying term such as consumption collective allows a researcher to focus on the marketplace phenomenon or the consumption activity being observed instead of being caught up in the debate about descriptive labels. However, this freedom also risks misappropriation of terms in the same way as consumer tribe appears to have misappropriated the tribal aspect (section 1.1). Yet this notion of consumer tribe is also included in the unifying consumption collective description (Närvänen and Goulding 2016), even though there still appears to be no theoretical link to traditional tribes (O'Reilly 2012). Recently, consumer studies have emerged that indicate the growing use of the notion of assemblages to understand consumer-object relationships, another relatively new marketplace phenomenon (Bjerrisgaard, Kjeldgaard and Bengtsson 2013; Hoffman & Novak 2018; Weijo, Martin and Arnould 2018).

Assemblages are generally understood to represent a body whose inherent inter-relationships consists of movable parts that are replaceable in other bodies (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 2000; Hoffman and Novak 2018). Within consumer studies, researchers such as Hoffman and Novak (2018) illustrate how previously unrelated objects and parts work together as assemblages through a process of interaction, producing new capacities while retaining their autonomy. Drawing upon Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of assemblages, consumer researchers such as Hoffman and Novak (2018) and Weijo, Martin & Arnould (2018) highlight the immense power that consumers have in the marketplace when they exercise their capacity to act collectively. The ability for consumers to create new capacities in the marketplace through the inter-relationships of inherently unrelated parts, produces challenges for marketers, an aspect also recognised by consumer researchers exploring marketplace collectives such as Cova, Kozinets and Shankar (2012).

The notion of assemblages and its relevance to consumer studies have been lauded for its ability to reveal new complex consumer marketplace inter-relationships previously under-explored through the assemblage lens. For example, Weijo, Martin & Arnould (2018) observed and shows the application of consumer collectives ideas alongside assemblage theory to facilitate under-standing of consumers' marketplace behaviour. In their three-year ethnographic study of consumers in Finland, Weijo, Martin & Arnould (2018) showed how the notion of assemblages and consumption collectives worked together to unravel consumers' self-organisation into a movement that changed the Nordic's cultural food marketplace. As the subsequent section will show, the notion of consumption collectives and assemblage theory are both vital in this thesis' pursuit for understanding about how traditional tribes within a modernising society compares to the notion of consumer tribes.

2.5 Assemblages

The theory of assemblages emerged in the 1980s and is largely based on the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1980, 1987, 2000). In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature that attempts to interpret and apply the theory in a variety of contexts, such as DeLanda's (2006, 2016) and Latour's (2005) actor-network theory[9]. Most recently, Buchanan (2015, 2017) has taken a more critical perspective and taken the concept of 'agencement', depicting it as an arrangement (or assemblage) and then using it to highlight the concept's contestation (Buchanan 2015, 2017). Although there are numerous approaches to understanding and applying assemblage theory, this thesis will stick to Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) original version (Section 2.4). Their description of assemblages is the most used in social sciences to describe their original ideas of agencement (Bjerrisgaard, Kjeldgaard and Bengtsson 2013; Buchanan 2015, 2017; Canniford and Shankar 2013; DeLanda 2006; Hoffman & Novak 2018).

Several authors corroborate that assemblages are underpinned by relations based on interactions of autonomous parts that can exist independently of the larger assemblage (DeLanda 2006; Hoffman and Novak 2018; Weijo, Martin & Arnould 2018). Generally, the parts constituting an assemblage do not necessarily have similar origins, nor are they homogeneous

[9] Actor-network theory propositions the existence of shifting networks of relationships in the natural world, with relationships being both semiotic and material in nature. This theory assumes that object to object and object to human relationships are as important as human to human relationships in creating social situations (Latour 2005).

(DeLanda 2006; Hoffman and Novak 2018), but instead are primarily linked through self-directed interactions (Canniford and Shankar 2013; Weijo, Martin & Arnould 2018). Buchanan, though accepting aspects of this description, draws on Deleuze and Guattari's original work to contest what he depicts as the misinterpretation of assemblages. For instance, he questions DeLanda's (2006) reformulation of the concept which has been widely cited by several researchers who apply it to explain different relationship topics (Bjerrisgaard, Kjeldgaard and Bengtsson 2013; Canniford and Bajde 2016; Canniford and Shankar 2013; Hoffman and Novak 2018; Martin and Schouten 2014; Parmentier and Fischer 2015). However, Buchanan (2015) claims that DeLanda reduces assemblages to a mere adjective while attempting to reformulate the concept, subsequently denying it its analytical power. He depicts DeLanda's re-formulation of assemblages as a departure from the original and as conceptually flawed. Positioning his interpretation of assemblages as more aligned to the original works, Buchanan (2015, 2017) recommends that those applying the concept should refer more to the original or risk inauthenticity of their subsequent conceptualisations, an aspect addressed in this thesis. From Buchanan's (2015, 2017) line of reasoning, it seems logical to conclude that engaging with the original work, even with other interpretations, is essential if a compelling application of the concept is to be made.

Yet, not everything in DeLanda's characterisation deviates from Deleuze and Guattari's original ideas as is evident from Hoffman and Novak (2018) and Weijo, Martin and Arnould (2018) who cite both Deleuze and Guattari's (1987, 2000) and DeLanda's (2006) interpretations. This suggests that both differ in their interpretations rather than there being inadequacies of the concept for application. For example, DeLanda's (2006) claim that assemblages consist of replaceable movable parts is consistent with Deleuze and Guattari's (1983, 1987) original characterisation. Similarly, his claim that assemblages have the capacity for territorialisation[10], de-territorialisation[11] and re-territorialisation[12] (DeLanda 2006, 2011, 2016) echoes Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) depiction of assemblages, an aspect that has been applied to explain consumer - experience assemblages (Hoffman and Novak 2018). So, although not without some

[10] Territorialisation as used here describes the joining together of heterogeneous bodies, people or objects through a process of coding and stratifying bodies to create an assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Weijo, Martin and Arnould 2018).
[11] De-territorialisation as used here is drawn from DeLanda's (2006) and Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of assemblages where displacement of objects, people or traditions from their usual location happens.
[12] Re-territorialisation happens when a location that had experienced displacement such as, of culture, objects or people is restructured following de-territorialisation (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Hoffman and Novak 2018).

criticism (see Buchanan 2015, 2017), DeLanda's (2006) portrayal of Deleuze and Guattari's (1983, 1987) notion of assemblages demonstrates how they are performed. Supporting this posit is a considerable amount of literature that applies Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage theory to consumer behaviour (Canniford and Shankar 2013; Jayne and Ferenčuhová 2015; Kozinets, Patterson and Ashman 2017; Martin and Schouten 2014; Parmentier and Fischer 2015; Weijo, Martin and Arnould 2018).

For example, Weijo, Martin and Arnould (2018) refer to Delanda's (2006) interpretation of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) work to explain how the assemblages' capacity for de-territorialisation applies to the Harley Davidson community (Schouten and McAlexander 1995). From a previously 'ideologically cohesive, marginal, white and male' community of outlaws (Schouten and McAlexander 1995), de-territorialisation created a heterogeneous community 'in terms of gender, ethnicity, practices and social status', subsequently diminishing the boundaries inherent of the previous outlaw community (Weijo, Martin and Arnould 2018: 254). So, if we accept Weijo, Martin and Arnould's (2018) claim as typifying an assemblage, we can conclude this corroborates with DeLanda's (2006) interpretation. This interpretation further confirms Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and Hoffman and Novak's (2018) posit that assemblages represent a body whose inherent inter-relationships consists of movable parts that can shift and be replaceable in other bodies, an aspect DeLanda (2006) supports. Here, we see not just corroboration but also collaboration in interpreting the assemblage concepts across different disciplines, an important illumine for researchers interested in CCT (Arnould and Thompson 2005, 2007). Yet, the critique Buchanan (2015, 2017) offers on the contentious interpretations of assemblage theory is still a vital insight to researchers considering applying this theory (or aspects of it) to explain the complex social world. The author draws on this insightful caution alongside those from other consumer researchers who have applied Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of assemblages to explain consumer behaviour.

2.6 Assemblage theory in consumer studies

In the last decade, research into consumer behaviour indicate that aspects of assemblages have increasingly been applied in a variety of consumer topics (Canniford and Bajde 2016; Canniford and Shankar 2013; Epp and Velageleti 2014; Giesler 2012; Hoffman and Novak 2018; Jayne and Ferenčuhová 2015; Kozinets, Patterson and Ashman 2017; Martin and Schouten 2014; Parmentier and Fischer 2015; Thomas, Price and Schau 2013; Weijo, Martin and Arnould 2018).

Within advertising studies, the assemblage concept has been applied to explain consumer-brand relationships (Bjerrisgaard, Kjeldgaard and Bengtsson 2013; Parmentier and Fischer 2015). For example, by using semiotic analysis of tattoos used in advertising, Bjerrisgaard, Kjeldgaard and Bengtsson (2013) interpret consumer-brand relationships through the lens of assemblages, concluding that the individual and the socio-material world forms a network akin to an assemblage because the tattoos are on the skin that acts as the mediator. They argue that the tattoos on human skin are indicative of the relationship between the individual and the market-place cultures observable in the tattoo advertisements.

Supporting the importance of assemblages theory in consumer studies is Canniford and Shankar's (2013) study of surfing culture. Canniford and Shankar (2013: 1054) draws on Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of assemblages, applying this to demonstrate how surfers preserved romantic experiences of nature 'by orchestrating assemblages of heterogenous consumption resources'. They justified assemblage as a vital framework to comprehend surfing culture, arguing that this concept appears to have similarities with 'semiotics readings of culture in which meanings of words and texts depend on their relationships with other texts' (Canniford and Shankar 2013: 1053). They posit that the meanings, uses and encounters with nature experienced by the surfers are constituent of multiple elements. For example, to some surfers, waves are enchanted entities that establish a relationship between surfer and nature. Both are distinct entities individually, but when combined become another whole that reproduces romantic experiences for the surfers. Thus, Canniford and Shankar (2013: 1063) depict this nature the surfers use to reproduce romantic experiences as a 'consumption assemblage' because it is a totality of multiple elements (Delanda 2006; Deleuze and Guattari 1987). Through a process of interaction, the surfers and nature produce new capacities, such as the creation of romantic experiences, whilst retaining their autonomy. Canniford and Shankar (2013) conclude that material nature and market-cultural resources orchestrate, transpiring into the surfers' experiences. This line of thinking echoes Deleuze and Guattari's (1987, 1988) work which highlights how human and non-human actors can come together to create a new distinct whole such as in the surfer experiences. From Canniford and Shankar's (2013) study, we see the application of assemblage theory to illustrate how surfers as consumers mix geographic materials of nature with consumption resources to produce experiences. This aspect is a potential illumine worthy of consideration for exploring inter-relationships between human [e.g. a tribal person] and non-human actors [such as cultural objects] within a tribal society.

Reinforcing the application of assemblage theory in consumer research is Hoffman and Novak (2018), who draws on the assemblage theory to illustrate how a consumer – object relationships are created in the Internet of Things (IoT). These authors demonstrate how in a smart home, objects such as Amazon's Alexa connect and interacts with other smart objects such as the television whilst also interacting with the consumer to enhance consumer experience. Hoffman and Novak (2018) argue that the individual smart objects have their own unique capacities and their interaction with the consumer is evidence of a consumer assemblage. In this conceptualisation, the object exercises its capacity and interacts with the television to create new capacities that interact with consumers, subsequently creating another whole – the consumer-object assemblage.

Recently, Diaz Ruiz, Penaloza and Holmqvist (2020) applied assemblage theory to explore consumer tribes' ephemerality, concluding that tribes manifest through hybrid assemblages of people, things, and ideas. By studying salsa dancing coalescence in Finland that they describe as a 'salsa tribe', Diaz Ruiz, Penaloza and Holmqvist (2020) argue that tribes constitute and reconstitute to deal with obstacles in a manner akin to assemblages. This phenomenon is captured in their observation that 'the salsa tribe disperses at the end of the evening only to reassemble somewhere else, in a different day, in a different city, with other participants. Each manifestation is recognizable as a salsa social, but it is never an exact replica' (Diaz Ruiz, Penaloza and Holmqvist 2020: 1019).

It appears that Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of assemblages is increasingly being applied within consumer studies. Applying this theory within consumer studies enhances new thinking and understanding, such as the conceptualisations of consumer-object relationships (Hoffman and Novak 2018), and recently, conceptualising consumer tribes as assemblages (Diaz Ruiz, Penaloza and Holmqvist 2020). Perhaps unsurprisingly, Woermann (2017) recently called on consumer researchers investigating marketplace collectives to explore how the assemblage theory can be applied to support our understanding of marketplace tribes and their practices. It appears that Woermann's (2017) call is being responded to, such as in Diaz Ruiz, Penaloza and Holmqvist's (2020) research on the salsa tribe.

Vital to this thesis is how assemblages can facilitate understanding of contemporary consumer behaviour in Kenya's modernising tribal society. The concept has already been vital in exploring assemblages of nature-consumer interactions to create collective experiences for surfers (Canniford and Shankar 2013). It provided insight into consumers' collective movements that create changes in the marketplace consumption cultures (Weijo, Martin and Arnould 2018), and in explaining object-object arrangement in smart homes to enhance consumer experience (Hoffman and Novak 2018). Assemblage theory is an important lens for exploring how tribes interact with cultural and modern objects in the marketplace, whilst shedding light on how marketplace arrangements compare to consumer tribes.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on an exploration of how modernisation affects consumption practices. It has established how modernisation changes aspects of society, such as through the advent of shared consumption that is widely understood in consumer behaviour studies' as consumer tribes – an essential phenomenon in this research. This chapter reviewed the literature on consumer tribes, establishing the theoretical foundations underpinning this concept. The fundamental tenets of consumer tribes have been identified. The chapter has also explored how modernisation influences consumer practices and its role in the advent of collective consumption practices, which the literature claims are a response to how modernisation alters society. The chapter argues that the consumer tribes phenomenon, while offering compelling benefits to consumers and marketers, is imperfect. Central to consumer tribes' limitations is the omission of data from traditional tribes while continuing to liken consumers' marketplace behaviours to those of traditional tribes. The omission of traditional tribes denies the reader the opportunity to assess how the two types of tribes stand against each other – an omission this thesis addresses. The chapter finally explores the appropriateness of the notion of consumption collectives and assemblage theory in understanding different communal consumer practices in modern and modernising societies.

Chapter 3: Traditions, tribal practices, and colonialism

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the appropriateness of the 'tribe' as a label to describe social groups of people and explore the appropriateness of studying tribal practices within a modernising tribal society. Tribes are typically distinguished by their distinct traditions from a long-established past (Gluckman 2017; Gulliver 1969b, 2013). Social groups of people distinguished from others in this way are broadly described as traditional societies (Giddens 1984). So, if we accept that their distinct traditions characterise them as tribes, then it is reasonable to describe them as 'traditional tribes' (Gulliver 1969, 2013; Southall 1970). Consequently, this chapter also unpacks the terms 'tradition' and 'traditional'. These terms are vital descriptions the author uses to distinguish modern tribes (Maffesoli 1996), such as the consumer tribes (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007) from tribes that are thought to have formed in a long-established bygone past (Gluckman 2017; Gulliver 1969b, 2013). This chapter also explores the origin of the discursive tribe label on Kenyan society and how traditions typically manifest through the practices of human agency. The chapter explores the role colonialism played in characterising non-European societies as traditional tribes, with specific emphasis on the Kenyan tribes. It illustrates how distinct traditions within society labels Kenya a tribal society while acknowledging the different perspectives on the tribe label to describe Kenyan society. The chapter assesses the notion of practices as an essential framework to help comprehend Kenyan tribes and examines the vital role that human agency plays as a carrier of tradition (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1991). The notion of practices is an appropriate lens to study consumption practices of Kenyan tribes and their tribal customs re-enactment within modernising Kenya. By assessing traditions handed down from a long-established past, this chapter identifies the vital characteristics of traditional tribes and how these compare to those of consumer tribes.

3.2 Traditions

The term tradition generally denotes the phenomenon of transmitting customs, beliefs, and practices associated with a long-established past from one generation of a given society to another (Beck, Giddens and Lash 1994; Giddens 1984). Subsequently, when social groups are described as traditional tribes in this thesis, the term denotes social groups distinguished by their traditions handed down from a long-established past believed to be attributed to distinct tribes. Traditions arise from habituated everyday practices, where a social group conditions its

members to distinct dispositions, which become internalised as the taken for the granted norms that distinguish their society from others (Bourdieu 1977, 1984). Previous studies have argued that internalisation of traditions happens through repetitive performative rituals that reinforce the traditions as 'realities' of a bygone past (Berger and Luckmann 1991; Bourdieu 1977; Goulding 2017). Supporting this argument is Durkheim's (1995[1912]) earlier work, and in later years, Bellah's (2005), whose posit indicates that repetitive rituals help reinforce the culture and social order, subsequently perpetuating veneration of traditions. Published work by Durkheim (1995 [1912]) and Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry (1989) suggests that collective repetitive rituals make people believe in the existence of a higher power connecting them with others involved in performing the mutually revered rituals. It appears reasonable to conclude that traditions are socially constructed and maintained through habituated practices.

Traditions are important in this thesis because to comprehend a tribal society that has existed for many generations, it is essential to recognise how passed-down customs and ways of doing things emanates from the past to somehow remain relevant today. By comprehending a society's traditions, we can begin to understand and distinguish one society from another. Also, the notion of practices is vital to this thesis because, as already mentioned, traditions are perpetuated through practices.

3.3 Practices and human agency

This section builds on the preceding one, arguing that human agency is vital in passing down traditions from one generation to another through everyday practices (Berger and Luckmann 1991; Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979). The need to understand everyday practices is discussed as a vital lens to study traditional tribes' consumption practices within modernising Kenya. A social group's everyday practices can transform or perpetuate traditions. If we accept that a social group's everyday practices can reveal traditions, it is logical to suppose that we can understand a tribal society that is experiencing modernisation through their practices. Practice theory holds that human beings possessing a myriad of motives and intentions, transform the world they live in through interactive relationships between social structures and human agency (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Giddens 1979,1984). Typically, human actors express the transformation of the human agent's social world through their practices (Goulding 2017; Nicolini 2012, 2016; Ortner 2001; Schatzki 1996, 2008; Woermann 2017). Thus, the human agent can carry traditions through their practices.

Giddens (1979) theorises agency as the ability of an individual to act autonomously within a given social field but within the constraints of social structures inherent in their social environment. He depicts the agent as an individual who can act independently. The social structures that may constrain the human agent include customs and social class within a given social environment (Bourdieu 1984; Giddens 1984). The social structures combined with other institutions established in society are themselves socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann 1991; Bourdieu 1984) and only exist because they are collectively perceived to exist and discerned as capable of constraining acts of the human agent (Giddens 1984, 1991). Lindridge, Penaloza and Worlu's (2016) research on Nigerian immigrant women in the UK who used their agency to manipulate patriarchal structures exemplifies the importance of comprehending human agency within consumer studies. These Nigerian women were seemingly conforming to patriarchal family order, but on the other hand, satisfying their consumption desires by subversively challenging their husband's patriarchal positions. By joining their consumption interests to those of their husbands, the women manipulated the patriarchal family order to which Nigerian society had conditioned them while in Nigeria. This partially altered the Nigerian patriarchal family order in the UK. From this example, it is reasonable to infer that the women acted as the consumer agent, with the capacity to act both autonomously and within the constraints of social structures (such as patriarchy) while altering the social structure to suit changes in their social environment. From this line of reasoning, we can suppose that in Kenya, both colonialism and modernisation phenomena can alter tribal social structures, such as kinship and patriarchy through interaction with the human agent. If we accept this assumption, then it is fair to suppose that a tribal person can also act as an agency that carries tribal cultural meanings back and forth from the tribal social structures that exist within their social field (Kenyatta 1938; Sahlins 2011, 2013). Like the Nigerian women discussed above, every society – tribal or non-tribal – has some aspects of their customs, beliefs, and practices passed on from one generation to another (Appadurai 1996; Giddens 1984, 1991).

Within the domain of consumer studies, several scholars have applied the notion of practices to understand consumption through consumer agency (Maciel and Wallendorf 2016; Phipps and Ozanne 2017; Thompson, Henry and Bardhi 2018; Woermann and Rokka 2015). For example, Maciel and Wallendorf (2016: 743) applied the theory of practice to study consumers' evaluation of taste around craft beer. Their study highlights the vital role consumer agent and social structures play in revealing the 'constitution of cultural competence in taste-centred consumption domains'. By studying consumer practices, they show how everyday actions of the

consumer agent condition them to take for the granted aspects collectively accepted as representations of cultural competence.

Buttressing the importance of practice theory's application in consumer studies is Phipps and Ozanne's (2017) study of consumer routines. By studying consumer routines through the lens of practices, Phipps and Ozanne (2017) uncovered how consumer practices become internalised and accepted routines. Their study identified how consumer routines, when disrupted, tends to lead consumers to re-adjust their consumption practices back to their familiar understandings. Phipps and Ozanne (2017) argue that in their study, consumer practices became an internalised and accepted routine that the consumer agent embodied. They explained that consumers reworked any disruption to their embodied routines because they desired to stabilise and return to familiarity through malleability of the old routines and new rules (Phipps and Ozanne 2017). So, by applying practice theory to examine consumption, researchers like Maciel and Wallendorf (2016), Phipps and Ozanne (2017), and Thompson, Henry and Bardhi (2018) demonstrate the vital role practices plays in understanding consumers' lived worlds. These are important examples to this thesis because they illustrate how the human agent carries practices – an important point when exploring tribal people consumption practices, discussed in the next section.

3.4 Practices, habitus, and forms of capital

The practices of a human agent are produced from exposures to certain conditions that orient the agent to take for granted specific ways of doing things, something Bourdieu calls 'doxa' and 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1977, 1984; Giddens 1979). Habitus describes the 'permanent internalisation of social order in the human body', while doxa describes the taken for the granted habitus (Bourdieu 1990/1977: 72). The internalisation of social order, when it is taken for the granted within a given society, creates suitable conditions to produce shared meanings about what constitutes legitimate cultural, social, and economic capital (Bourdieu 1984). Cultural capital describes social assets which are the primary conveyor of taste and social status. Cultural capital exists in three forms: embodied states such as accent and manners, objectified states such as artwork and paintings, and institutional states such as academic certificates (Goulding 2017: 209-210). Social capital is the 'aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu 1986: 248). Economic capital describes material and financial possessions (Bourdieu 1984; Goulding 2017).

Of the three forms of capital, cultural capital is considerably vital to this thesis because it is the primary conveyor of taste and social status – both aspects that link to habituated traditions (Bourdieu 1984; Goulding 2017). Bourdieu (1977, 1979) claims that we can partially see the internalisation and embodiment of cultural capital in the human agent and subsequent agency through their practices. Applied to traditional tribes, this suggests that we can see how tribal peoples' affinity to their tribal traditions can influence them to specific actions. The internalisation and embodiment lead the human agent to the taken-for-granted perception of how the social world operates and should be – the doxa, which is expressed through practices (Bourdieu 1977, 1984; Goulding 2017). Consequently, the internalised and embodied cultural capital provides a window into the human agent's presumptions about their social world (Bourdieu 1977, 1984; Goulding 2017). If we accept this assumption, then it is prudent to suppose that tribal peoples' consumption practices, actions, and everyday practices are indicative of their habituated doxa. This insight is essential when trying to understand the social lives of traditional tribes within modernising Kenya through their practices, where the human agents have been exposed to different societal habituations such as colonialism and consumerism (Gachino 2010b; Gjersø 2015). Furthermore, the link between human agency and practices is vital in this research because consumers act as agents that carry meanings through their consumption practices (Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013; Lindridge, Penaloza and Worlu 2016; Maciel and Wallendorf 2017; Phipps and Ozanne 2017; Thompson, Henry and Bardhi 2018; Woermann and Rokka 2015). Section 3.5 discusses the discursive tribe label to describe social groups of people who act as human agents that carry traditions through their practices.

3.5 What is a tribe?

The tribe, when used here, describes a social group of people sharing similar traditions, language, culture, and belief in common ancestral origin and typically comprises related families linked through shared kinship and belief systems (Gulliver 2013; Sahlins 1968, 2013; Macintyre 1988; Weiner 1988, 1992). In tribal societies, people distinguish themselves and are distinguished by others as tribes based on their traditions and practices broadly associated with their tribe's ancestral cultural practices (Gluckman 1968, 2017; Gulliver 2013; Southall 1970). However, the discursive use of the tribe label to describe non-European societies has attracted criticism from scholars such as Mafeje (1971), Mudimbe (1988), Ekeh (1990), Crehan (1997), Thiong'o (2009), and Kohn and Kavita (2017) who view the term as disparaging to non-European societies.

In the context of Africa, authors such as Mudimbe (1988), Ekeh (1990), Deng (1997), Thiong'o (2009), Sackey (2012) and Macarthur (2013) claim that the tribe is a discursive denigrating label used by European anthropologists and colonialists toward African societies. By using the tribe label to describe colonised Africans, the Europeans depicted the cultural practices of African societies as outdated and inferior to their own (Gluckman 2017). The label also amplified cultural differences between Europeans and Africans, with the latter depicted as in need of civilising (Sackey 2012).

In Kenya, not only was the discursive tribe label used to subjugate non-European societies (Thiong'o 2009), but the British colonial administration also applied a variety of other methods of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1984; Kanyinga 2009) to subdue and subjugate Kenyan society (Lonsdale 2008b, 2013; Thiong'o 1986). These methods of symbolic violence do not always present themselves through the physical exercise of violence and power (Bourdieu 1984), but often take the form of seemingly mundane acts such as language and cultural imposition (Jenkins 2014; Thiong'o 1986). The methods of symbolic violence used in Kenya are discussed later in this chapter (sub-section 3.7.1).

3.5.1 Key characteristics of traditional tribes

Tribe is a contentious term that characterises non-European societies by their practices (Holmes 1997; Kohn and Kavita 2017; Lynch 2011, 2016), and is often used to amplify the differences between the colonised and the coloniser (Sackey 2012; Thiong'o 2009). By examining the practices used to categorise some social groups as tribal, we can begin to comprehend why Kenya is still depicted as a post-colonial tribal society (KNBS 2009; Ndonye., Yieke, and Onyango 2015; Nevett and Perry 2001). Understanding these practices is vital to exploring whether and why practices associated with tribal behaviour of a long-established past are re-enacted today within modernising Kenya, thus revealing the meanings people attach to these practices. Therefore, this section discusses the broad characterisation of tribes with examples from Kenya.

Despite the contestation in describing non-European societies (Macarthur 2013; Thiong'o 2009), social groups typically characterised by European colonialists and anthropologists as tribes often have distinct practices and appear to share certain aspects broadly. For example, tribal societies typically tend to have strong kinship relationship (Kenyatta 1938; Sahlins 2011).

In Kenya, an example of this is evident among the Kikuyu tribe discussed later in this section. Typically, tribal societies share a mutuality in being (Sahlins 2013) where a tribal person tends to see themselves in another kin's existence (Gluckman 2017; Kenyatta 1938; Sahlins 2013). In Africa, this tendency to see one's self in another is widely understood as the *Ubuntu* spirit (Kinyanjui 2016; Mabovula 2011; Mbiti 1969, 2015). Strong kinship relationships (Sahlins 2011) and mutuality in being (Mabovula 2011; Mbiti 1969, 2015; Sahlins 2013) are typically evident in reciprocal gift exchange practices (Mauss 2002) where reciprocity is most active closest to one's kin (Kragh 2016). Tribes often have a distinct language (Heine and Mohling 1980) and a shared belief in an ancestral tribal region of origin (Gulliver 1969b; Kenyatta 1938) from where distinct customary practices are enacted, such as offering sacrifices to ancestral spirits (Kenyatta 1938; Lonsdale 2008b) and other deities (Mbiti 1969, 1975). Traditionally, tribes are led by a king or queen (Kaplowitz 2014), a chief (Deng 1997), a council of elders (Kenyatta 1938), or other forms of institutionalised tribal governance (Gluckman 2013, 2017). In Kenya, all the above have been found to exist among most social groups depicted as tribal societies. Table 3.1 summarises some of these characteristics and a select social group recognised and categorised by the Kenyan government as tribes (KNBS 2009; 2019). There are many other characteristics distinct to each tribe in addition to the broad conceptual characteristics above.

Table 3. 1: Select tribal characteristics among Kenyan tribes

Characteristic	Example of tribe	Reference
Kinship and reciprocal gift exchange practices.	Kamba, Kikuyu, Luo, Maasai and Meru	(e.g. Gulliver 2013; Kenyatta 1938; Southall 1975)
Mutuality in being (seeing one's self in another tribal kinsfolk – the Ubuntu spirit).	Abaluhya, Embu, Kalenjin, Kamba, Kikuyu, Luo, Meru	(e.g. Kinyanjui 2014,2016; Mabovula 2011; Mbiti 1969, 2015)
Distinct language.	Kikuyu, Kisii, Luo	(e.g. Heine and Mohling 1980; Lynch 2011,2016; Muriuki 1974; Thiong'o 1986, 1992)
Rites of passage into adulthood such as body markings, circumcision, body piercing.	Abaluhya, Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Meru	(e.g. Kenyatta 1966; Kobia 2013; Musalia 2018; Nyaga 1997)
Belief in ancestral tribal region.	Abaluhya, Embu, Kalenjin, Kamba, Kikuyu, Kisii, Luo, Meru, Mijikenda	(e.g. Kameri-Mbote 2006; Kameri-Mbote and Kindiki 2008; Kanyinga 2009; Lonsdale 2008a, 2008b; Macharia 2017; Southall 1975; Willis and Gona 2013)
Tribal deities and ancestral roles among the living.	Embu, Kamba, Kikuyu, Meru	(e.g. Mbiti 2015; Mugia 1979)
Institutions for tribal governance.	Kikuyu, Luo, Meru	(e.g. Muriuki 1974; Nyaga 1997)
Overall distinguishing customary practices differentiating one tribe from another in some aspect.	Abaluhya, Embu, Kalenjin, Kamba, Kikuyu, Luo, Maasai	(e.g. Gulliver 2013; Karanja 2003; Kobia 2013; Luongo 2012; Macarthur 2013; Nyaga 1997)

The next section offers more in-depth insight into some of the tribal characteristics with emphasis on Kenyan tribes.

3.6 Tribal beliefs and practices in Kenya

Broadly stated, Kenyan tribes, like any other traditional society (Giddens 1984, 1994), typically share and historically have handed down beliefs about their traditions (Kenyatta 1938; Luongo 2012; Mbiti 1969). Tribal traditions may appear perplexing to those who do not share similar beliefs while being highly revered within the tribes where such beliefs – even the most mundane ones – are widely accepted. This section discusses a few examples of those beliefs.

3.6.1 Tribal legends

The first example is from the Kamba tribe, who widely share a belief that some members within their tribe can perform magic and seers can foretell the future (Luongo 2012; Mbiti 1969). The Kamba have a legend that a 19th century tribal prophetess known as Syokimau was able to predict events before they happened (Luongo 2012). She is believed to have prophesied the coming of white people to Kamba territory, and about a big snake that would travel back and forth from a sea in the East Coast region of Kenya, swallowing and vomiting people to a lakeside in the western region of Kenya (Luongo 2012). This snake was interpreted locally to be the railway line which subsequently crossed the Kamba tribe region in the late 1800s from Mombasa to Kisumu in western Kenya, on the banks of Lake Victoria (Luongo 2012). This is a seemingly mundane coincidental occurrence that nevertheless potentially influences those from this tribe to believe in their ability to foretell the future (Luongo 2012). From this example, we can also infer that this tribal belief influenced making sense of a modern phenomenon (the railway) through the interpretation of a legend that the prophetess could foretell the future (Luongo 2012).

Another example is from the Kikuyu tribe, who, like the Kamba, believe that some members of their tribe are endowed with the ability to foretell the future. One example is Chege wa Kabiru, a prophet who, legend has it, not only foretold the coming of white people to Kikuyu land, but that the white people would use ‘large butterflies’ that would spew them out (Gecaga 2007; Kenyatta 1938). The arrival in Kenya of aeroplanes and white people in the 18th and 20th centuries respectively was locally interpreted as a fulfilment of the seer’s prophesies (Kenyatta 1966). This is another seemingly mundane coincidental occurrence that received local interpretations using examples unique to the tribe. Furthermore, another prophecy was made by

Mugo wa Kabiru who, besides prophesying many events that came to pass, is also believed to have foretold the time colonialism would come and fall in Kikuyu land (Mugia 1979). His prophecy unsettled the British colonial administration when it arrived in Kikuyu land and learned that, not only had this tribal seer foretold their arrival, but that he had also foretold the precise time their empire would collapse (Mugia 1979). In one prophecy, Mugo wa Kabiru foresaw a time when the Kikuyu and others would be ruled by a people with pale skin through which others could see their blood flowing (Mugia 1979). However, this rule would come to an end when a fig tree then located in what is now the town of Thika withered and fell facing the direction of the sunset. The British colonists of the day tried to prevent this prophecy from coming to pass. According to colonial records in Kenya, the British colonial administration built reinforcements around the tree to prevent it from falling (Mugia 1979). However, the tree was struck by lightning in the early 1960s and had withered and died by the time British colonial rule ended in Kenya (Berman and Lonsdale 1992; Mugia 1979).

Legends such as these, when handed down over generations with anecdotally reported coincidences, certainly help reinforce a tribe's beliefs, values, and their reality, often promoting solidarity among those sharing and conditioned to such beliefs (Bourdieu 1977; Mbiti 1969). Colonial studies of Kenya widely report that mobilisation of local anti-colonial movements such as the Mau uprising largely depended on tribal solidarity based on shared beliefs and myths (Berman and Lonsdale 1992; Kennedy 1992; Leakey 1977; Lonsdale 1990, 2008b). Shared beliefs in tribal legends and myths appear to have some influence on society's solidarity and their taken for the granted belief in their constructed traditions.

3.6.2 The practice of handing down traditions

Besides the traditional beliefs handed down from one generation to another, there are also traditions on what are acceptable social structures within the tribes to pass down traditions. Typically, social structures help perpetuate tribal legends and ultimately reinforce beliefs in tribal identities. For example, some Kenyan tribes such as the Embu, Kamba, Kikuyu, and Meru are depicted as having stages for the transmission of legends, customs, and beliefs from one generation to another (Kenyatta 1938; Kobia 2013; Leakey 2013; Luongo 2012; Nyaga 1997). An example is the Kikuyu tribe who follow a structured system of the handing down traditions. This usually happens orally and through repetitive ritual practices of the tribe's traditions handed down from one generation to another. This typically happens in phases and at much revered different stages of one's Kikuyu tribal life. Among the Kikuyu tribe, tribal traditions

are handed down through a system of informal social education commencing at around ten years old (Kenyatta 1938, 2015). This informal social education continues throughout the rites of passage and rituals into adulthood, during marriage rites, and entry into the Kikuyu Council of Elders (Kenyatta 2015; Muriuki 1974).

Traditionally, the structured stage-by-stage informal system of education taught Kikuyu people about their tribe's origin, clan issues, gender roles and manners, Kikuyu kinship and associated legends about the tribe, and the meaning of rituals as one passed through the different stages of adulthood. All the training in tribal matters culminates with the entry into the tribe's revered Kikuyu Council of Elders, the peak of a typical Kikuyu person's social position (Karanja 2003; Kenyatta 1938; Leakey 1977). This system of oral traditions happened during the pre-colonial period (Kenyatta 1938; Leakey 1977), during the colonial era, although with some colonial interference (Muriuki 1974; Thiong'o 2009) and continues in the post-colonial era (Karanja 2003; Kobia 2013; Muriuki and Sobania 2007). Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the social system of handing down tribal traditions from one generation to another continues in post-colonial Kenya. If we accept this, then we can suppose that tribal structures are still perpetuating beliefs and possibly practices of a long-established tribal past in modernising Kenya.

3.6.3 Tribal structures of governance

Traditional tribes typically have a recognised leader or a set of tribal elders who form a committee of government and act as custodians of the tribe's way of life, culture, values, and rituals (Gluckman 2013, 2017; Deng 1997; Kenyatta 1938). Usually, such leadership is bestowed upon a leader, such as a king among the Asante of Ghana (Kaplowitz 2014) or the Council of Elders among the Kikuyu of Kenya, who deliberate on tribal matters (Kaplowitz 2014; Kenyatta 1938). The centres of power are socially constructed imaginations on how to maintain tribal social order (Gluckman 2013, 2017), resist external interference to the tribal way of life, and perpetuate the collective conscience of their imagined tribal identities (Deng 1997; Durkheim 1898; Kenyatta 1938; Muriuki and Sobania 2007; Schweikard and Schmid 2013). Thus, traditional tribes typically have a central source of power within, which deliberates on tribal matters, helps keep them relevant and perpetuates their tribal identities. This characteristic is unlike the western consumer tribes who do not rely on a central source of power to maintain social order among their adherents (Cova and Cova 2002).

The central source of power and influence on the tribe, if compromised by external forces such as through colonialism and modernisation, influences the entire tribal social structures. Deng (1997) highlights this in claiming that colonialists managed to disrupt tribal ways of life in Africa through infiltration into tribal centres of power such as the tribal chiefs. He argues that present-day post-colonial Africa is a notable product of European colonialists who influenced African values, institutions, and patterns of behaviour. If Deng's (1997) claim is true, then it is reasonable to assume that tribal traditions can evolve as they encounter new ones.

Deng also points out that modern African tribes are not fully comparable to their ancestral counterparts either in their traditions or governance because colonists used 'traditional leaders [as] tools for controlling the tribes' (Deng 1997: 28), thereby imposing and legitimising different social systems. This approach is akin to symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1984; Goulding 2018). Accordingly, the pre-colonial era traditional centres of tribal power adapted to new systems for maintaining tribal order due to colonial interference and the nation-state (Deng 1997; Sweeney 2014). Thus, we can infer that tribal characteristics are not necessarily permanent and unchangeable, but rather subject to contextual dynamics such as symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1984, Deng 1997; Jenkins 1992) and modernisation (Gachino 2010b, 2011a).

African tribes, like societies elsewhere in the world, have encountered gradual changes through interaction with others even as they strive to maintain their tribal identities (Deng 1997; Sackey 2012). An example of gradual change lies in shifts in Kenyan social structure of patriarchy.[13] By evaluating the Kikuyu's system of government, Kenyatta (1938) depicts pre-colonial tribal organisation in Kenya as a patriarchy social system where only the male members of the tribe could govern. In a patriarchal family system, social roles are determined by gender, typically assigning men the more dominant position in the family and the broader tribe (Kameri-Mbote 2006). Women were 'the homemakers as without them there is no home in Gikuyu sense of social life', with duties revolving around 'the general affairs of the homestead' (Kenyatta 1938: 173). However, recent studies suggest that the patriarchy tradition is gradually being altered among Kenyan tribes. For example, Kinyanjui (2014, 2016) points out that Kenyan women are challenging traditional stereotypes of women as passive recipients of their male partners' support, through the formation of women Chamas that support their economic independence. For instance, some Chamas use 'solidarity entrepreneurialism and collective alliances to move [up

[13] Patriarchy describes a social system or government whereby men hold the power such as decision-making and women are typically excluded from this power (Kenyatta 2015/1938; Lindridge, Penaloza and Worlu 2016).

the economic ladder] […] creating arguably a new form of urbanism based on the African indigenous market in the central business district [of Nairobi]' (Kinyanjui 2014: 8). Kinyanjui (2014: 8) claims that Kenyan women are forming 'solidarity entrepreneurialism and collective organisation' to economically empower members while partially challenging patriarchy social system that exists in Kenya. These women pursue economic self-reliance, ostensibly challenging traditional narratives of the man as the provider in the home, while retaining some aspects of their African identities through re-interpretation of traditions to suit modern realities (Kinyanjui 204; 2016). This economic empowerment of women through Chamas challenges a tribal tradition that customarily favoured men and marginalised women (Kameri-Mbote 2006; Mwiti and Goulding 2018).

Thus, unlike Cova and Cova's (2002) western consumer tribes that lack central power to hold members together, tribes have traditionally had a central power that holds the tribe together. However, these centres of power are subject to volatility as the tribes interact with new traditions of other societies and pressures from modernisation. Volatility in traditions about power notwithstanding, traditional tribes are presumed to share a kind of collective consciousness (Mbiti 1969). If the collective consciousness is true of all traditional tribes, then we can reasonably infer that any shift of tribal power is collectively negotiated, shared, and perceived to exist.

3.6.4 Mutuality in being and a shared tribal consciousness

Mutuality in being is common among people sharing kinship relationships (Sahlins 2011, 2013), and is depicted as most active closest to one's kin (Kragh 2014) where collective consciousness is shared among kinsfolk (Mathiesen 2010). Thus, collective consciousness among tribal societies can be likened to what Sahlins (2011: 10) depicts as 'mutuality of being' among kinsfolk where members share a belief that helps them see themselves in each other. The term collective consciousness was introduced in social sciences by Émile Durkheim in his seminal works *The division of labour in society* (1883) and *The elementary forms of religious life* (1912) (Mathiesen 2010; Schweikard and Schmid 2013; Smith 2014). Drawn from his experiences with what he described as primitive societies, Durkheim depicts collective consciousness as encompassing a social group's shared beliefs, traditions, and collective practices (Smith 2014). However, it should not be assumed that only primitive societies share collective consciousness about their beliefs, traditions, and collective practices. Instead, what Durkheim showed was

that this tendency was evident in primitive societies, although he did not exclude other societies experiencing the same (Mathiesen 2010; Schweikard and Schmid 2013; Smith 2014).

For collective consciousness to happen, members of the social group will typically be conditioned into similar conditions of disposition which causes them to share a consciousness of beliefs, behaviours, and practices (Bourdieu 1977; Goulding 2017). The notion of collective consciousness has been applied recently to explain behavioural practices of consumer tribes, such as the tribes of burning man (Jones 2011). Several authors have shown that collective consciousness is applicable in different societies including traditional tribes around the world (Kenyatta 1938; Mathiesen 2010; Mauss 2002; Mbiti 1969; Muriuki and Sobania 2007; Schweikard and Schmid 2013; Smith 2014; Weiner 1992). Central to the supposition of collective consciousness within tribes is the fact that they typically share collective memories, often re-enacted through communal ritual practices such as sacrifices to appease ancestral spirits, and a plethora of ceremonies to mark special cultural events associated with the tribe's past, to which members are habituated (Bonsu and Belk 2003; Gluckman 2017). For example, Bonsu and Belk's (2003) study of the ritual consumption of death among the Asante tribe in Ghana noted how the people pursued conspicuous death ritual practices as a means of symbolising the connection with their departed relatives. Bonsu and Belk (2003: 53) concluded that among the Asante, 'death initiates (rather than ends) a positive transition in a deceased consumer's identity'. Therefore, a person's identity did not cease to exist on death. Both the living and the dead were assumed to remain united because dead relatives were thought to continue playing a role among the living. Thus, it is reasonable to suppose that the living among the Asante believe in a shared collective consciousness, not only with their living kin, but also with those who had died.

Bonsu and Belk reveal similar tribal characteristics identified in earlier anthropological studies of Trobriand Island's Kiriwina tribes. Weiner (1992) showed how dead women among the Kiriwina were freed of any reciprocal debts they may have owed others through elaborate ritual practices, which emphasised the collective raising of gifts by the surviving kin towards an obligated recipient. From this line of reasoning, Weiner (1992) inferred that by 'freeing' the dead person from any reciprocal obligations, the Kiriwina imagined a shared connection with the dead person. Hence, they treated the dead person's obligations as though they were still subject to the same tribal traditions (Weiner 1992). It is presumed that the Kiriwina imagined the existence of a shared collective consciousness, not only with the living, but also between the dead

person and those to whom the dead person had been obligated before their death. Weiner (1992) concluded that the honouring of reciprocal obligations for the dead person by the living re-calibrates and re-establishes social networks with those who were in the dead person's social networks. Subsequently, ensuring continuity of reciprocal gift-giving instead of breaking the link because of death (Weiner 1992). So, this re-calibration and re-establishment of a social link to cater for a dead person's obligations make Kiriwina tribal traditions enduring. By this practice, traditions are passed on from one generation to another.

The tendency for one to perform significant tribal rituals for dead kin as though the dead were still subject to tribal traditions suggests a mutuality of being (Sahlins 2011: 10). This can be likened to what Mbiti (1969: 108-9) postulated about African social relationships, where the society and the individual are entwined 'I am because we are, and we are because I am'. Mbiti's (1969) assertion supposes that one does not belong to themselves alone. Instead, one is only human because of and through other people – the *Ubuntu* notion of mutuality in African societies. Mbiti (1969, 1970) depicts African societies as sharing a collective consciousness and societal solidarity. He also underscores the importance of social relations and associations in an African's life. Tribal commitment to standard ritual practices is vital for the continuity of the tribe as a strongly bonded social collective (Bonsu and Belk 2003; Kenyatta 1938; Mbiti 1969; Muriuki and Sobania 2007; Sahlins 2011; Weiner 1992). Thus, collective consciousness and associated practices are part of tribal traditions.

3.6.5 Reciprocal gift-giving practices

Like elsewhere in the world, the custom of reciprocal gift exchange and its associated rituals holds special meanings in Kenyan society where the return of favours is ingrained in one's honour (Kenyatta 1938). Reciprocal gift exchange has been widely reported to take place among tribes. For example, Mauss (2002) reported his observations of reciprocal gift-giving among tribes in the American northwest and Australian tribes. Gift exchange in a practice known as 'potlatch' is depicted as a complete system of giving by Douglas (2002a) among the indigenous peoples of the Pacific Coast of Canada. The potlatch rituals among the Kwakwala involve conspicuous performances of distributing items such as blankets as members seek the most honour from the tribe by publicly giving the most (Graeber 2001). Similar findings were reported in earlier studies by Malinowski (1918) and much later by Weiner (1988, 1992) among the Trobriand Islands' Kiriwina tribes off the East coast of Papua New Guinea. In Kenya, a similar system of reciprocal gift exchanges (such as during marriage ceremonies) has been

reported among the Kikuyu tribe (Kenyatta 1938). More recently, Trapido (2016) reported that a gift-exchange system like potlatch existed in nearby Central Africa. Trapido (2016) echoes earlier studies in the same region by Douglas (1968, 2013) exploring cultural practices of the Lele tribe in the Kasai region of Central Africa.

Reciprocal gift exchange, the ceremonies surrounding it, and accompanying ritual performances tend to be distinct to each given tribe that practices it (Douglas 2002b; Kenyatta 1938; Mauss 2002). For example, among the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya (Kenyatta 1938), it is customary for reciprocal gift exchange during dowry exchanges among agemates and one's closest kin. However, among the tribes of the American northwest, it is common to have a complete system of giving – the potlatch – as an honourable reciprocal gift exchange system (Douglas 2002b). Among the Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea, the brothers of a married woman continue to provide her with yams as gifts in exchange for her children belonging to her brothers instead of her husband (Weiner 1988). The yams are given due to a tribal custom that recognises her children as her brothers' children, a form of matrilineal kinship which is reinforced through reciprocal gift-giving. The wives of the woman's brothers also receive yams from their brothers. Weiner (1988) supposes that the gifts from the married woman's brothers obligate her and the biological father of her children to avail the children to the woman's brothers. These examples show that while reciprocal gift exchange is customary in diverse tribes around the world, there are variations in the practice and associated meanings of the tradition. For example, Weiner (1992) claims that the tribes of Polynesia in Papua New Guinea practised a collectively understood, socially constructed, and practice-perpetuated system of reciprocal giving to improve their social standing within the tribe. Their gift-giving enabled them to attain higher status within the tribe's hierarchical social structures, akin to Bourdieu's notion of habitus and distinction by taste (1977, 1984). Therefore, it is compelling to conclude that reciprocal gift-giving practices and associated rituals can help distinguish one social group from another based on how it is practised. The reciprocal gift-giving practice is a crucial characteristic of traditional tribes (Douglas 2002b; Graeber 2001; Kenyatta 1938; Mauss 2002; Weiner 1992).

To understand reciprocal gift-exchange as a defining characteristic of traditional tribes, and hence distinguish this practice from western consumer tribes where reciprocal gift exchange is uncommon, it is important first to explore the meaning appropriated to the gift phenomenon. Mauss (2002:4) describe the gift as: 'the present generously gave even when, in the gesture accompanying the transaction, there is only a polite fiction, formalism, and social deceit, and

when there are an obligation and economic self-interest'. Mauss's theorisation of the gift was partially influenced by his ethnographic studies which span North America where he explored the potlatch system among the tribes of the Haïda and Tlingit on the northwest coast, Melanesia, Eskimo, and Australian hunters to mention but a few. He concluded that all the societies he studied had a similar system of gift exchange. Mauss (2002:3) still posed an important question which later researchers such as Weiner (1988,1992) and Derrida (1994) explored:

> "…What rule of legality and self-interest, in societies of a backward or archaic type, compels the gift that has been received to be obligatorily reciprocated? What power resides in the object given that causes its recipient to pay it back?"

In his theorisation of potlatch as a form of a gift, Mauss sought to show an alternative constitution of society besides the western one. However, he also acknowledged that there were different forms of the gift system practised by different societies around the world.

To unpack his theorisation of the gift, Mauss (2002) depicts the notion of the gift as underpinned by three underlying principles. First, the obligation to give gifts aims to show one's generosity to others. In tribal societies such as Kenya where it is practised (Kenyatta 1938), the one who gives demonstrates that they are deserving of respect and honour from those who receive or witness their giving (Kenyatta 1938; Graeber 2001; Mauss 2002). For example, in the American northwest, the native Haïda and Tlingit tribes held the potlatch ceremonies publicly (Graeber 2001; Mauss 1990, 2002). Social contracts are established when one accepts the gift. Thus, refusal to accept a gift creates tension while acceptance results in the receiver indebtedness to the giver (Arnould 2017). In Kenya, this obligation to give and associated indebtedness to the giver extends to dowry gift-exchanges (Kenyatta 1938; Muriuki 1974).

Second, when someone has been targeted for providing, they are obligated to receive or to be seen as disrespectful of the giver (Graeber 2001; Mauss 2002), whereas agreeing to receive is seen as respectful to the original giver and proving that one is themselves generous (Mauss 2002). The recipient then is put under an obligation to reciprocate (Kenyatta 1938) and if they choose not to then loses face among discerning others (Taylor, Wangaruro and Papadopoulos 2012). Therefore, we can regard reciprocal gift-giving as an aggressive act of placing others under obligation to reciprocate or risk losing honour. Thus, reciprocal gift-giving is arguably a

coercive act of exercising power over the recipient. Perhaps unsurprisingly, in most tribal societies where reciprocal gift-giving is practised, the process of gift-giving and reciprocity is continuous. Malinowski identified the 'Kula ring' among the Trobriand tribes, a cycle of continuous reciprocal gift-exchange where no one wanted to break the obligation to reciprocate for fear that this would lose them honour among tribal kin (Hage, Harary and James 1986; Ziegler 2008). The continuous reciprocal gift-exchange among practising tribes helps maintain social relationships with others, and its continuity stands as an affirmation of material wealth (Arnould 2017). This continuity, while seemingly indicating social cohesiveness within practising tribes, is also suggestive of inherent aggressiveness because the one who gives expects the intended receiver to not only honour the giver by accepting the gift, but also to reciprocate (Arnould 2017).

Third, the receiver is under an obligation to reciprocate. By agreeing to receive, a person demonstrates that they are honourable and so they reciprocate to the original giver in equal or higher measures. This way a perpetual cycle of giving is established and continues (Arnould 2017; Mauss 2002). The obligation to reciprocate should be interpreted within the cultural context within which the meanings of the reciprocal gift-exchange exists (Mauss 2002; Weiner 1988, 1992), such as in Kenya (Kenyatta 1938; Muriuki 1974; Taylor, Wangaruro and Papadopoulos 2012).

We can suppose that the expectation for reciprocity is socially constructed within a given community where both the gift and reciprocity are entwined with honour (Arnould 2017; Douglas 2002; Mauss 2002; Weiner 1988, 1992). The honour only makes sense to those in the community who can interpret what is honourable or not (Arnould 2017; Moody 2008; Ziegler 2008). Although there is limited research on gift exchange among Kenyan tribes, Mauss's (2002) theorisation offers insight into possible reasons behind the practice. For example, the presumption that social contracts are established among some tribes when one accepts the gift (Mauss 2002) can be a critical kinship and dowry practice among Kenyan tribes.

3.6.6 Kinship and tribal ritual practices

This section builds on the previous one by adding another prominent characteristic of traditional tribes – kinship. It uses a Kenyan tribe's kinship practices while also drawing upon examples from other parts of the world where kinship has been studied. Broadly stated, kinship

typically describes social relationships between humans (Weiner 1979). How we interpret kinship in society varies depending on one's contextual habituations (Bourdieu 1977; Lévi-Strauss 1969; Sahlins 2011; Weiner 1979). Many scholars researching different societies agree that kinship plays a vital role in the social lives of people although in different ways due to contextual uniqueness (Bourdieau 1977; Heilbrunn 2018; Kenyatta 1938; Leach 1958; Lévi-Strauss 1969; Sahlins 2011, 2013; Weiner 1979). Typically, the importance of kinship to an individual depends on how one society socialises and habituates their people, usually from an early age (Bourdieau 1977; Kenyatta 1938).

Within tribal societies, kinship is entwined into one's identity and interactions with the wider tribal kin because, typically, one's existence is presumed to be for otherkin and vice versa (Kenyatta 1938; Mbiti 1969; Sahlins 2011). However, to understand a given society, one should understand the social structures inherent in that society which presumably influence kinship relationships. Lévi-Strauss (1969) theorises that social structures govern the social lives of people, arguing that if the structures of a given society are understood, then society's basic rules and structures can also be comprehended, ultimately leading to an understanding of the meaning society attaches to those rules. Therefore, social structures are essential in trying to comprehend kinship and the meanings surrounding it. Sahlins (2011, 2013) suggests that we can generally understand kinship by observing three relationship forms:

i. relationships built and perpetuated owing to blood-sharing through descent;
ii. relationships built and maintained due to marriage; and
iii. fictive kinships which are social relationships developed and maintained not because of blood or marriage relationships, but socially constructed outside of these two.

First, kinship can exist and collectively be perceived to exist where there is evidence of blood relationships and shared ancestry (Kenyatta 1938; Sahlins 2011). This form of kinship is typically referred to as consanguineal (Sahlins 2011). The bonds within this form of kinship are thought to be stronger than when there is no blood relationship. Between family members or members of the same clan, kinship relationships will be stronger than with non-consanguineal kin (Kragh 2016). The Kikuyu revere this form of kinship as crucial to tribal identity (Kenyatta 1938).

Second, kinship relationships can be constructed through marriage between non-consanguineal kin. For example, when one marries or gets married to a member of another non-blood related clan or tribe, the relatives of the two who have married become kin to each other (Kenyatta 1938, 1966; Sahlins 2011). Most Kenyan tribes, including the Kamba, Kikuyu and Meru, traditionally have elaborate dowry ceremonies and rituals practices, often involving the slaughtering of goats and reciprocal gift exchange that must be performed before the relatives from both sides becoming kin (Karanja 2003; Kenyatta 1938; Middleton and Kershaw 2017).

The third is the fictive kinship, which is neither relationship by blood nor through marriage. For example, among the Eskimo-speaking people, kinship relationships can be socially constructed and de-constructed for people who are not blood-related or do not share common ancestral origin (Nuttall 1993; Sahlins 2011; Schweitzer 2000). Among the Malays of Malaysia, kinship can be established through living together in the same house and eating together (Carsten 2004; Sahlins 2011). The Wari of the Amazonian rainforest in Brazil believe kinship relationships can be established through living alongside each other and partaking in reciprocal acts of kindness towards each other (Aparecida Vilaca 2005; Sahlins 2011), while the Inuit consider people born on the same day as kin (Sahlins 2011).

Kinship is a crucial indicator of the social and moral distance within tribes (Kragh 2016). Kinship determines the level of selflessness which individuals may show and expect from each other, especially within tribal societies where kinship plays an essential role in one's being and identity: I am because we are, and we are because I am (Mbiti 1969: 108-109), and mutuality of being among one's kin (Sahlins 2011: 10). Figure 3.1 illustrates the importance of kinship on how relationships are viewed and subsequent reciprocity.

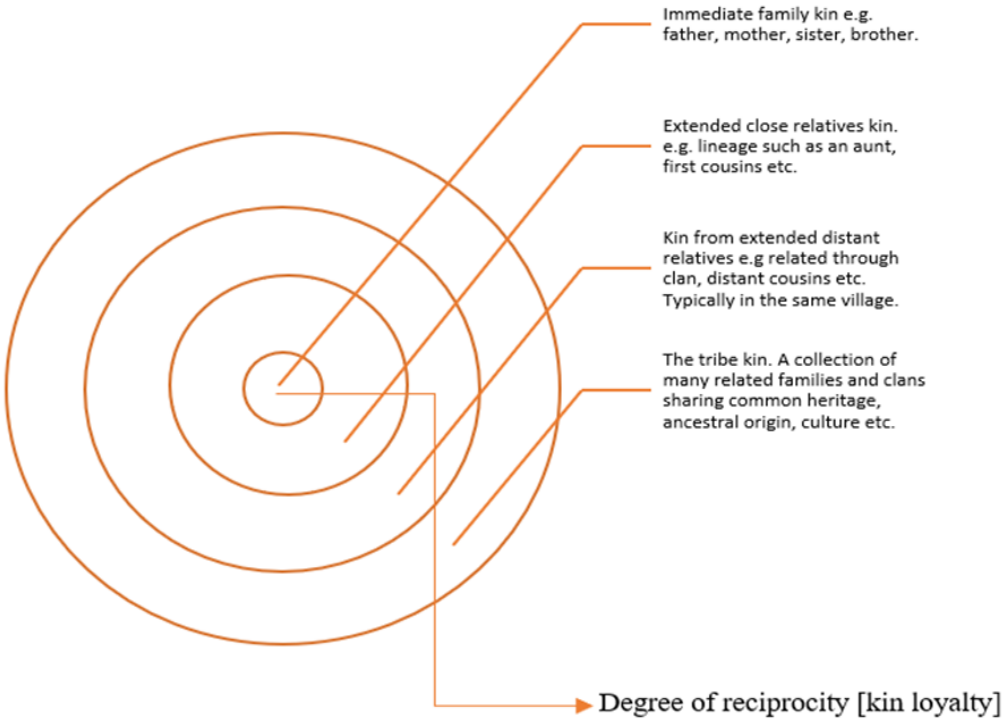

Figure 3. 2: Theory of social distance and reciprocity

Source: Author's adaptation of Kenyatta (1938,1966); Sahlins (1972, 2013) and Kragh's (2016) ideas on kinship and reciprocity.

There are varying degrees of social distance between traditional tribes, depending on how close one is deemed to be in terms of blood relationship (Kenyatta 1938, 1966; Kragh 2016). Kragh (2016) postulates that the closer a kin member is to one's self, the stronger the bond of kinship is felt and the associated reciprocal expectations. This produces a high degree of internal coherence as visually displayed in Figure 3.1 which suggests that kin loyalty is strongest closest to one's self. Solidarity of the kin is most active from the centre (immediate family) and weakens outwards. Reciprocity and loyalty inevitably create a cycle of obligation among the kin (Sahlins 1972, 2013; Kragh 2016). Kinship in Kenya is linked to the notion of mutuality of being as exemplified in the *Ubuntu* spirit where one only exists through and in others' existence (Kinyanjui 2016; Mbiti 1969). *Ubuntu* is an African philosophy (Mbiti 1969: 108-109) which supposes that we are truly human only in community with other persons (Kinyanjui 2016; Lutz 2009; Mabovula 2011). The Kikuyu notion of kinship is explored from Jomo Kenyatta's (1938) seminal work on *The tribal life of the Gikuyu*.

3.6.6.1 Kinship among the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya

The Kikuyu tribe have an elaborate kinship system whose tribal legend claims can be traced to the origin of their tribe; as far back as when Ngai created Gikuyu, the undisputed father of Kikuyu tribe (Kenyatta 1938). As the legend has it, Ngai is the name of the creator of all things, the one who allocates all things to all men as he wishes – the 'Muugai' – which translated into English means 'the one who divides or distributes'. According to legend, the Kikuyu god holds a position above its ancestors. Therefore, even though the tribe traditionally offer sacrifices to appease the ancestors during certain occasions, the ancestors are still considered lower in spiritual terms than Ngai (Kenyatta 1938). Indeed, the Kikuyu Ngai, known by the same name among the Maasai and Kamba tribes, has no parents or relatives. Instead, Ngai lives in solitude and has no equivalent (Kenyatta 1938: 224-225). The Kikuyu widely perpetuate the belief that their kinship can be traced back to Ngai through Gikuyu, the ancestral father of the tribe (Karanja 2003; Kenyatta 1938; Middleton and Kershaw 2017; Muriuki 1974).

Kinship among the Kikuyu tribe begins with those closest to the individual. Hence, Kikuyu kinship is believed to consist of the close family unit, then the extended family at clan level, and then the nine clans which make up the Kikuyu tribe. These nine clans are traceable to the nine daughters[14] of Gikuyu and Mumbi – the ancestral father and mother of the tribe created by Ngai (Karanja 2003; Kenyatta 1938; Middleton and Kershaw 2017; Muriuki 1974; Muriuki and Sobania 2007). Regrettably, Kikuyu legend about their origin as a tribe does not go beyond Gikuyu. This Kikuyu legend has been handed down through oral history spanning many centuries (Kenyatta 1938). Given that anthropological studies indicate that the Kikuyu tribe arrived in the Mount Kenya region less than two millennia ago (Muriuki 1974), we can suppose that the tribe as described by Kenyatta (1938) emerged around this period. Regrettably, without any recorded history beyond their arrival, kinship structures beyond this period are difficult to establish. The closest kin to an individual is one's respective family unit – the Nyumba or Mũciĩ of a given person. Among the Kikuyu tribe, this family unit or Nyumba translates into English as a house or home. It is the foundation of a clan and ultimately of the tribe. This Nyumba comprises of the wife, the husband, and their children. In Kikuyu culture, an unmarried man or woman cannot have a Nyumba of their own. However, when the children become of age and start their own Nyumba, the collective social unit is known as a Mbari, typically comprising

[14] Gikuyu's and Mumbi's daughters were: Wachera, Waethaga, Wairimu, Waithera, Wambui, Wangari, Wangui, Wanjiku, Wanjiru (Kenyatta 1938).

several hundred Nyumba'. In the Mbari, each person is expected to know their blood lineage to the first Nyumba from which the Mbari is descended (Kenyatta 1933; Muriuki 1974). Beyond the Mbari is the clan. Therefore, we can conceivably refer to the Mbari as a sub-clan.

Traditionally, members of one Mbari would reside in the same area or close to each other, socialising and working together towards the common good of their respective Nyumba and the wider Mbari (Kenyatta 1938). This can be likened to what Sahlins (2011: 10) refers to as 'mutuality of being [where the person is] divisible and not distinct in the sense that aspects of the self are variously distributed among others, as are others in oneself'. Thus, drawing upon Kenyatta's account of the Kikuyu tribe kinship organisation and Sahlins' theorisation of kinship, one can conclude that mutuality of being is a characteristic of tribes which transcends geographical dispersion (Kenyatta 1938; Mbiti 1969, 2015; Sahlins 2011).

As the Nyumba and Mbari grow through the children maturing, getting married, and starting their own families, it becomes difficult to keep track of all relatives and the children risk getting confused when there are so many uncles, aunts, and cousins around under different lines of relationships. So, the linking value between the many relatives now becomes the clan – the 'Muhiriga' in the Kikuyu language – a collection of several Nyumba and Mbari spanning from hundreds into thousands. The many Nyumba and Mbari are related beyond the immediate family unit due to marriage (Kenyatta 1938). Ultimately, the nine Mihiriga, or clans, descended from the nine daughters of Gikuyu and Mumbi make up the Kikuyu tribe. The Kikuyu kinship system allows us to explore and partially uncover the beliefs underpinning the origin of the Kikuyu tribe, and if this characteristic is shared by other Kenyan tribes, then the insight is important to this thesis because kinship can influence the informants' practices.

Lévi-Strauss (1969) argues that, once identified and understood, social structures such as kinship can reveal the source of the meanings which society appropriates to not only their social structures but also to the rules governing that society (Bourdieu 1977; Goulding 2018; Heilbrum 2018; Lévi-Strauss 1969). This helps in understanding the meanings appropriated to practices within a modernising society. As noted already, kinship is a crucial characteristic of traditional tribes such as the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya, and it is a social structure that members believe to be a significant part of their tribal identities. It is essential to tribal societies because it symbolises one's ancestral and socio-historical connections and subsequent tribal identity and determines the nature of the relationship with others in society. Kinship is an essential

characteristic of traditional tribes that influences the practice of reciprocal gift exchange. The survival of kinship ties is vital for one's own existence and that of one's descendants because of the inter- and intra-subjective sense of belonging and expected reciprocity. Consequently, kinship relationships are perpetuated in tribal societies through traditional practices such as dowry exchange. Kinship habituates a tribal person to tribal traditions and determines how the individual evaluates and assesses others depending on the social distance that should exist between them.

3.7 Colonialism and the tribe label

As already discussed, colonialism influenced the categorisation of non-Europeans based on distinct characteristics and practices (Crehan 1997; Kohn and Kavita 2017; Lynch 2016; Sackey 2012). Building on the preceding sections, modern Kenyan society, although considered tribal (KNBS 2009; Ndonye., Yieke, and Onyango 2015; Nevett and Perry 2001), is not exempt from outside influence on its current habitus. This section expounds on the prominent acts of the British colonial administration in Kenya that subjugated Kenyan society, rendering it susceptible to cultural assimilation (Lonsdale 2015; Sackey 2012; Willis 2011; Kanyinga 2009; Thiong'o 1986, 2009).

3.7.1 Subjugation of Kenyan society

Colonisation is a process in which one group of people dominate and subjugate another, often involving political and economic control of the colonised people (Jasen 2010; Nayar 2010; Nichols 2010). Before British colonial interference in East Africa, there was no country called Kenya (Gjersø 2015; Southall 1970), and even the naming of the African continent and her nation-states (Sweeney 2014) has been depicted as a colonial invention (Mudimbe 1988). This colonial influence in the de-construction, construction, and re-construction of societal identities among Kenyans is key to this thesis.

The power mechanisms used by colonists and their related legacies on tribal identities and important to a full understanding of the subject, and this section discusses four instruments which colonialists used in Kenya:

1) self-appropriation of Kenyans' ancestral land,
2) cultural subjugation and assimilation strategies, and
3) Interference with socio-political structures.

3.7.1.1 Colonial practice of self-appropriation of Kenyan land

In Kenya, the most productive land was appropriated by the British colonists, leaving Kenyan society economically vulnerable to European economic manipulation (Kanyinga 2009; Kameri-Mbote and Kindiki 2008). Kenyan societies, having been uprooted from their ancestral lands through British colonial law, were later coerced to work for the colonists on the very land that had belonged to their ancestors (Kanyinga 2009; Kenyatta 1938). British settlers applied English property law to provide a veil of legitimacy to the appropriation, generously awarding themselves 999-year leases to the land while entirely disregarding the colonised subjects' cultural connection to it (Kanyinga 2009).

In Kenya, the European settlers, although permanently resident in Kenya's White Highlands[15] and subjugating the people they had colonised, still maintained their allegiance to Britain (Lonsdale 1990; Kanyinga 2009). They used power structures supported by the British government to subjugate others and render them vulnerable to socio-cultural manipulation through the violent application of English law among Kenyans who barely understood the English language (Kanyinga 2009; Kameri-Mbote and Kindiki 2008; Kenyatta 1938).

Land ownership in Kenya is inexplicably intertwined in society's cultural identity (Kameri-Mbote and Kindiki 2008; Lonsdale 2008b, 2013). For example, Lonsdale (2008b: 307) notes that, to a Kikuyu, 'people are land, [and] land is people', emphasising that land is often associated with one's ancestral past, and used to affirm one's identity. Both Kameri-Mbote and Kindiki's (2008) and Lonsdale's (2008b) depiction of the connection between land and cultural identities of the people of Kenya echo Kenyatta's (1938: xxi) assertion that the land which the colonialists took from Kenyan societies was the 'people's life […] and [which] enable[d] them to perform magic and traditional ceremonies in undisturbed serenity, facing Mount Kenya'. This reference to cultural practices linked to the land gives credence to Gulliver's (1969b: 24) use of 'cultural-regional criteria' in defining traditional tribes. Being able to control the land empowers one to control its people for political, economic, and cultural purposes. In Kenya, colonial land policy undeniably affected Kenyan society politically, economically, socially, and culturally (Kameri-Mbote and Kindiki 2008; Kanyinga 2009; Lonsdale 2008b).

[15] 'White highlands' is a term used in colonial Kenya to describe the fertile areas around Central Kenya where tens of thousands European settlers (mainly white British) took from the mainly Kikuyu, Maasai, Kamba and Kalenjin people (Kanyinga 2009).

3.7.1.2 Cultural subjugation and assimilation practices

Alongside subjugation through the application of the denigrating label tribe (Thiong'o 2009) and British appropriation of culturally significant Kenyan land (Kanyinga 2009), the colonisers also subjugated the indigenous population's cultural practices, subsequently justifying assimilation efforts towards Europeans cultural practices (Sackey 2012). The colonised were encouraged to abandon their culture by, for example, adopting European names under the guise of adopting Christian names and the English language (Thiong'o 1986) and European mannerisms such as dining and clothing (Sackey 2012). European culture epitomised perfection towards which Africans should aspire. Post-colonial Kenyan society is thus entwined with British colonial influence (Lonsdale 2015), and so are the Kenyan tribes. Southall (1970: 30) illustrates this interwoven system when he notes how in post-colonial Kenya, people often adopt different identities such a being 'a Kikuyu, a Kenyan, [and] an African', all of which could be used to describe the same person in post-colonial Africa. However, the latter two did not exist as identities before their invention by the colonialists (Gjersø 2015; Mudimbe 1988; Southall 1970). Over time, both the colonising and the colonised societies internalised the cultural subjugation, which amplified disparities between the two and other contextual aspects created by colonisation (Bourdieu 1977; Lonsdale 2015; Kohn and Kavita 2017).

The internalisation of this kind of habitus shapes the illusion that cultural assimilation of non-Europeans into European cultures would civilise tribes from their presumed primitive practices into European cultural practices widely portrayed as superior (Kohn and Kavita 2017; Sackey 2012). The impression of civilising perpetuated a misrepresentation of colonised peoples' social and cultural values as inferior (Said 1979; Willis 2011). Sackey (2012: 458) sums up the European ideas at the time of colonialism in stating that 'culture generally evolved in a uniform, unilinear progression, with Africans at the lowest level of the ladder and Europeans at the apex'. With the idea of inferior culture imposed on the colonised, Sackey (2012) supposes that the colonised people attempted to emulate the cultural practices of the colonisers with the illusion that they would attain equal social positions. He points out that Africans adopted European languages and names, were coerced to follow political and economic systems of Europeans and to embrace Christianity while abandoning their religious and traditional practices which the Europeans considered to be outdated (Sackey 2012).

However, Lonsdale (2015: 612) argues that some Africans saw assimilation as pivotal bargaining power for negotiating with Europeans for 'entry into the world economy'. Thus, some Africans adopted European cultures including the form of dress, Christianity, cuisine and language (Lonsdale 2015; Sackey 2012). Lonsdale (2015) sees this not only as cultural subjugation but also as a calculated strategy by Africans to raise their bargaining power with the outside world. Hence, even as they subjugated themselves, the colonised Africans acquired social capital of significance in their times akin to what Bourdieu (1977) and Goulding (2017) depict as constituting social capital, albeit in a western context. By adopting European cultures as additions to their existing indigenous cultures, the Africans arguably acquired social and cultural capital[16] which they could use to bargain locally and with the outside world while maintaining their cultures. Unlike the colonising Europeans, Africans could quickly revert to their pre-colonial era cultures depending on situations and intent (Lonsdale 2015).

Vital to this research is whether present-day Kenyan tribal cultures have aspects of colonialism in them, and how colonial legacy influences the notion of tribal identity in Kenya. It is reasonable to suppose that colonialism affected African cultures (Sackey 2012), although some scholars perpetuate the call for resisting colonial effect (e.g. Thiong'o 1992, 2009). With the different perspectives on the colonial impact on African culture (Ekeh 1990), it is reasonable to explore whether such influence affects Kenyan tribes' modern practices – both through the adoption of European cultures and through resistance.

3.7.1.3 Interference with socio-political institutions of the colonised

Colonialism established socio-political structures which encouraged and coerced abandonment of pre-existing structures in favour of the coloniser's socio-political system (Kanyinga 2009; Sackey 2012; Said 1978). In Kenya, political interference created new structures of power such as central government departments in line with the nation-state model (Sweeney 2014) that inadvertently challenged pre-existing social structures of power such as the Council of Elders (Lonsdale 2015). Influence on Kenyan society of new religions such as Christianity brought by European missionaries (Lonsdale 2015) challenged existing societal beliefs in tribal deities (Kenyatta 1938; Mbiti 1969) and subsequently introduced new religious practices (Sackey 2012). It is clear, then, that missionaries were complicit in the 'civilising' projects of colonisers.

[16] Cultural capital describes social assets which are the main conveyor of taste and social status. Cultural capital exists in three forms: embodied state, objectified state, and institutional state (Goulding 2018: 209-210).

Through teaching devotion to Christianity, the missionaries altered and re-organised the colonised society's religious practices, an aspect of cultural assimilation that diluted the colonised society's identity (Lonsdale 2015; Sackey 2012). Therefore, the new power structures through new institutions inadvertently challenged traditional power structure pre-dating colonialism and the nation-state phenomena (Lonsdale 2015; Sweeney 2014).

3.7.1.4 Colonial re-ordering and naming of Kenyan tribes

Building on the preceding sections, the British colonial interference extended to the colonial administration's categorising of Kenyan society - through the re-ordering of social groups of people with similar practices into tribes (Holmes 1997; Lonsdale 1977; Macarthur 2013). For example, Holmes (1997) claims that re-ordering and classifying several social groups inhabiting the Kavirondo territory of western Kenya was an attempt by the colonial administration in the 1930s to invent tribes. In drawing this conclusion, Holmes (1997) evaluates documentary evidence from British colonial-era records available at the Kenyan National Archives. These documents indicate that the mission given to colonial representatives working in the western region of Kenya in the 1930s was to identify and classify African societies resident in what was then the British East African Protectorate (Gjersø 2015; Holmes 1997). Further analysis of the documentary evidence suggests that previously separate social groups were classified as either one tribe or as separate tribes by the colonial administrators. For example, in the Kavirondo territory of western Kenya, different social groups inhabiting the area at the time as distinct social groups were reclassified as tribes for administrative convenience. Holmes (1997: 80), citing a colonial-era British official called Hobley (1970, 1929), maintains that the British Foreign Office had sent Hobley into the Kavirondo territory in 1895 to bring together the 'various sections of the turbulent collection of tribes'. This was intended to ease administration around the Kavirondo region, securing British control of the area. The different social groups that inhabited this territory at the time were reclassified into three tribes: the Abaluhya, the Gusii, and the Luo. The Bantu-speaking inhabitants of the region at the time became the present-day Abaluhya tribe, comprising 19 linguistically similar social groups, and the Gusii tribe (the present-day Kisii tribe) (Heine and Mohling 1980). The Nilotic-speaking inhabitants became the present-day Luo tribe (Ochieng 1974; Ogot 1967, 1989). Unsurprisingly, Holmes' (1997) interpretation of the documentary evidence leads to the conclusion that the Europeans invented these tribes.

3.8 Internalised tribalism in Kenya

Although the preceding sections indicates that anthropologists and European colonialists used several mechanisms to subjugate Kenyan society (Kanyinga 2009; Thiong'o 1986, 2009) and depict social groups they found there as tribes by their practices (Lonsdale 1977; Macarthur 2013), there is evidence that some Kenyan societies pursued recognition as tribes (Holmes 1997; Kenyatta 1938, 2015; Willis and Gona 2013). Returning briefly to Holmes (1997), although British colonial administration 'invented' some Kenyan tribes through re-ordering and societal categorisation, some social groups at the time wanted recognition as distinct tribes. Drawing upon documentary evidence from the Kenyan National Archives, Holmes (1997) claims that the Luo people wanted to remain a social group distinct from others living in the Kavirondo territory. Accordingly, the Kager Luo Clan Association petitioned the Governor of Kenya in 1932, highlighting the differences between them and other societies in the region with whom they objected to being categorised together as one tribe (Holmes 1997).

Another example is the Mijikenda tribe, a collection of nine distinct social groups along the Kenyan coast who petitioned the colonial administration in the 1940s to be recognised as one tribe (Willis and Gona 2013). Their motivation to petition for recognition was a presumed threat of societal alienation exacerbated by colonial annexation of coastal land that was placed under the British Crown with only the Europeans, Asians, and Arabs entitled to lease the land (Willis and Gona 2013). By uniting social groups that are closely related through traditional practices and linguistically, the Mijikenda tribe created a collective force that would later negotiate for land rights as one (Willis and Gona 2013). Accordingly, Willis and Gona (2013: 472) conclude that the Mijikenda tribe is 'not the creation of either colonial officials or missionaries' but instead the product of traditions interacting with the modern realities of capitalism and the nation-state. Colonialists and European anthropologists are not entirely responsible for inventing all the tribes in Kenya, but instead contributed in naming them for a variety of purposes while at times recognising interested social groups as tribes through petitions and by their practices.

The Kenyan tribes are progressively generative, and colonialism played a part in discursive tribal categorisation (Holmes 1997), hence why colonialism is often depicted as inventing tribes (Ekeh 1990; Mafeje 1971; Thiong'o 2009). However, the invention has its limitations (Willis and Gona 2013). Some Kenyan social groups that are nowadays described as tribes,

such as the Kikuyu, Meru and Kamba, existed before colonialism as distinct social groups locally known by the same names that the British colonialists later used to describe them (Kenyatta 1938; Leakey 1977; Muriuki 1974). For example, Kenyatta's (1938) anthropological account of Gikuyu (Kikuyu) tribal customs pre-colonial interference claim that this social group is named after their ancestral father of the tribe – Gikuyu – whose descendants became known as the people of Gikuyu. This claim is later advanced in Leakey's (1977), Muriuki's (1974) and Muriuki and Sobania's (2007) reviews of Kikuyu customs and oral traditions in the Mount Kenya region. Here, we see a Kenyan social group whose existence pre-dates colonialism being described as a tribe by two of its leading anthropologists of the time (Kenyatta 1938; Muriuki 1969, 1974), suggesting the internalisation of the discursive tribe label.

Kenyans continue to pursue and publicly display tribal identities through their traditional everyday practices (Nyaga 1997) and even through mundane everyday discursive constructs like comedy (Ndonye., Yieke, and Onyango 2015). Such is the importance of tribal identities in Kenya that even evaluation of an advertising message can be influenced by an advertiser's tribal identity, if known (Nevett and Perry 2001). The allure to be recognised as a tribe – indicating the special meanings tribal identities hold to Kenyans – is also exemplified by recent petitioning by Kenyans of South East Asian ancestry to be recognised as a tribe. The Kenyan government responded to the petition through a presidential proclamation that recognised them as the 44th Kenyan tribe based on their distinct traditions and practices (Kenya Gazette 2017). It is reasonable to conclude that, in Kenya, certain practices are attributed to the discursive tribe label and that accords one a tribal identity.

It appears reasonable to infer from this discussion that the British colonial administrators did not invent tribal identities from what was non-existent. Instead, they collated information about related and unrelated societies and wrote about what already existed based on cultural practices. It is compelling to accept Gulliver's (1969b: 24) assertion that, a traditional tribe describes 'any group of people which is distinguished, by its members and by others, based on cultural-regional criteria'. If we accept this description, then several Kenyan social groups such as the Abaluhya, Kamba, Kikuyu, Kisii, Mijikenda and Luo can conceivably be described as tribes by self-identification and being distinguished by others as such.

3.9 Consumer tribes versus traditional tribes

The current literature on consumer tribes, when compared with that of traditional tribes, indicates that prominent differences exist in how both are characterised. According to Cova and Cova (2002: 597), the use of the tribe metaphor in consumer tribes is warranted because of the presumed 're-rooting' of modern consumers towards 'a return of the pre-modern imagination which has been rejected by modern thinking'. Consumer tribes are portrayed as lacking a central power to maintain social order within the tribe, hence why they are described as small-scale collectives of loosely connected consumers, 'inherently unstable [… and] held together essentially through emotion and passion' (Cova and Cova 2002: 598). Therefore, rather than being held and linked together by a central power, the source of the linking power stems from their mutual attraction to the linking value. In contrast, traditional tribes typically have a central power that holds the tribe together (Deng 1997). The linking value within traditional tribes is enduring rather than inherently unstable, such as that through kinship (Kenyatta 1938, 2015; Sahlins 2011, 2013).

Consumer tribes are likened to archaic tribes because consumers presumably engage in the re-enactment and re-enchantment of tribal pasts (Cova and Cova 2002; Maffesoli 1996, 2007). Consumer tribe literature prominently omits these archaic tribal rituals and practices which typically characterise traditional tribes. Consumer tribes are depicted as having nostalgia towards re-connecting with a tribal past 'where humans were free to breathe in the animist and transcendent spirit of the world; and finally, where people were free to find their True Selves' (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007: 5). However, without empirical examples from real traditional tribes, it is unclear how non-related and non-tribal consumers, assembled primarily through a shared mutual passion for a marketplace product, can re-enact a supposedly archaic tribal past through current consumption. Consumer tribes do not assemble around something rational, but rather around a product, brand or issue that helps them reconnect and link up with others sharing a similar interest (Cova and Cova 2002). In contrast, traditional tribes are held together by something rational such as individual survival through reciprocity and loyalty to kin. If we accept that one is born into a tribe (Kenyatta 1938, 2015) and therefore partially owes one's very survival and identity to tribal habituation, obligatory reciprocity cannot be precluded as a vital influence on one's loyalty to the tribe (Kenyatta 1938, 2015; Kinyanjui 2016; Kragh 2016; Sahlins 1972, 2013). This is unlike the market-constructed consumer tribes. Table 3.2 summaries the prominent differences highlighted in Chapters two and three on consumer tribes and traditional tribes.

Table 3. 2: Key differences between consumer tribes' fundamental tenets and traditional tribe

Key dimensions in foraging for tribal behaviour	Consumer tribes	Consumer tribes' dimensions when used against traditional tribes
Linking value	Market place goods, services and brand.	Believe in common ancestry for the tribe.
Fluidity	High: changeable, constantly fluctuates.	Low: born into a tribe traceable to ancestral past, rarely fluctuates.
Ephemerality	A short-lived assemblage of unrelated individuals.	Long-lived enduring identity of typically kinship related individuals.
Stability	Unstable assemblage.	Stable group, with clear social structures.
Drivers to coalescing with others	A shared passion for belonging through marketplace good/services and brands.	Bound together by common ancestral origin, kinship relationships.
Spaces	Physical and virtual spaces.	Tribal distinct physical place of origin.

Table 3.2 uses the critical dimensions of consumer tribes that show the main differences between consumer tribes and traditional tribes. The critical dimensions emerge from the literature on consumer tribes that support the likening of consumers' marketplace behaviours to those of traditional tribes (Canniford 2011; Canniford and Shankar 2013; Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Cova and Pace 2006).

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter explored the appropriateness of practice theory as a suitable lens to study tribal traditions and consumption practices of a tribal society experiencing modernisation. The origin of the tribe label to describe social groups of people was established by exploring distinct characteristics typically used to distinguish traditional tribes. The chapter established how colonialism not only used strategies to subjugate the colonised, but also affected the culture of those colonised through various acts of symbolic violence. Through the interaction and dialectic relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, the notion of the tribe as a label to describe categorised African societies has emerged as a contentious issue.

Some scholars argue that the tribe was invented as a label to denigrate an already subjugated society, emphasising and amplifying imagined differences between the coloniser (as the superior society) and the supposedly inferior colonised societies (Deng 1997; Mafeje 1970; Kohn

and Kavita 2017). The tribes were considered deserving of western, and often European 'civilisation' (e.g. Deng 1997; Kohn and Kavita 2017; Mafeje 1970), necessitating the use of symbolic violence to civilise them (Boudieu 1984; Sackey 2012; Thiong'o 1986). Other scholars maintain that some tribes' existence pre-dates colonial interference, suggesting that colonialists only described societies that already existed as characteristically different and distinct societies (e.g. Kenyatta 1938, 1966; Muriuki 1974; Muriuki and Sobania 2007), with some petitioning the colonial administration for recognition as tribes (Willis and Gona 2013). This chapter uncovered how colonial encounters with existing Kenyan society interfered with tribal social structures of power such as the tribal Council of Elders and tribal culture through symbolic violence and subsequent European assimilation projects (Sackey 2012; Kanyinga 2009; Lonsdale 2015).

This chapter also identifies the critical characteristics of traditional tribes. These are compared with the fundamental tenets that constitute western European and North American notions of consumer tribes. Comparison between these two types of tribes reveals significant differences. Critical evaluation and comparison of the two types of tribes partially expose the weaknesses in the current literature on consumer tribes. Both types of tribes overwhelmingly engage in a variety of consumption practices that are considered significant to this thesis's research questions. Therefore, the notion practices by Bourdieu (1977) are a vital theoretical framework to use in studying traditional tribes' marketplace practices within a modernising Kenya. In sum, while colonialism undeniably affected African societies, there is a paucity of empirical evidence to suggest that all tribal identities in Africa were a colonial invention. It is necessary to collect and analyse the views of people who describe themselves or are described by others as tribes to understand the meanings behind their consumption practices within modernising Kenya.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology chosen to address the research questions. These are:

- How, why and to what extent does a tribal society use consumption to affirm tribal identities?
- What are the consumption characteristics of consumers who coalesce within a modernising tribal society and how does their consumption compare to that of consumer tribes?

The chapter begins with a discussion of the philosophical assumptions informing the choice of methodology, the ontological and epistemological stance taken for this research. An interpretive consumer research paradigm is adopted, the social constructivism research perspective critically appraised for appropriateness for this thesis, whilst the challenges these brings are also identified and mitigating strategies explained.

An inductive theory-building qualitative approach was adopted using multi-method ethnographic, online review of tribal affiliated websites, and in-depth interviewing techniques as these are considered most appropriate towards understanding tribal peoples' lived experiences within a modernising Kenya. A multi-method qualitative research approach is recommended by many researchers as an effective technique for generating rich data from the lived experiences of informants (Abolhasani, Oakes and Oakes 2017; Cova and Cova 2002; Goulding 2005). Inductive reasoning is typically applied to data collected through multi-methods to generate new theory, instead of the prescriptive hypothesis-testing approach common in positivist philosophical assumption inclined studies (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009). A multi-method data approach is also important in uncovering tribal behaviour of consumers (Cova and Cova 2002). A detailed discussion of multi-method data collection techniques is presented, followed by an elaboration of the inductive reasoning's data analysis approach used to make sense of the extensive textual data generated.

4.2 Ontological and epistemological stance

Philosophical assumptions underpin how a researcher views the world that they are researching and what they consider to be valid[17] knowledge. A researcher's philosophical assumptions guide their research design, data collection methods, analysis, and interpretation in each project (Rogers 2006; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009). This section outlines my assumptions in search of an understanding of what drives the consumption practices of traditional tribes and why and how consumption is used to affirm tribal identities in modernising Kenya.

Essential to the researcher's stance and choices in this thesis is the notion of ontology. Ontology is the researcher's view about the nature of the reality they study, which typically takes either a subjective or an objective perspective (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009). A subjective ontological stance assumes that the social world has many truths that are dependent on the observer's interpretation (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). Thus, this stance is relativist in nature because reality is considered subjective depending on how the human agent interprets their social world (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). It is commonly associated with interpretivism and social constructivism approaches to understanding the social world. In interpretive studies, researchers typically assume that informants produce their own subjective and intersubjective meanings of their social world (Tadajewski 2006). Hence, all that the researchers adopting this stance can do is to interpret the subjective meanings that informants assign to phenomena in their social worlds (Cova and Elliot 2008; Tadajewski 2006). Therefore, interpretive research follows a subjective ontology where reality and knowledge are understood to be socially constructed based on how a social group subjectively interprets phenomena within their social field (Bourdieu 1977; Cova and Elliot 2008; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016; Tadajewski 2006).

This perspective was chosen because the discussions in Chapters 2 and 3 shows that consumption practices of consumers and traditional tribe practices are subject to contextual habituations that are subjectively interpreted (Askegaard and Linnet 2011; Bourdieu 1977; 1984). An example is the western consumer tribes phenomenon that is driven by a changing context, leading people to coalesce in search of social links as societal fabric weakens due to modernisation (Maffesoli 1996; 2007; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). Chapter 3 indicated how traditional

[17] Validity in qualitative research involves determining the degree to which researchers' claims about knowledge corresponds with the reality (or research informants' constructions of reality) being studied (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016; Eisner and Peshkin 1990).

tribes widely interpret their lived worlds subjectively; for example, when interpreting ordinary phenomena through their habituated tribal lens (Karanja 2003; Kenyatta 1938; Leakey 1977; 2013; Lonsdale 2008; 2015; Luongo 2012; Middleton and Kershaw 2017; Weiner 1992). This suggests that both consumer tribes and traditional tribes produce their own subjective and inter-subjective meanings of their social world and so we can conclude that they socially construct their social worlds in agreement with Tadajewski's (2006) posit on interpretivism. Consequently, subjective ontology is appropriate for this research because the author view the social world as socially constructed due to society's subjective interpretations of their lived world. This perspective is well aligned with the interpretive consumer research.

In contrast to a subjective ontology, the objective ontological assumption typically relates to positivism. Positivism assumes that there is a tangible, natural, and physical world which researchers can objectively discover, study, and know (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). Positivism assumes that a researcher can study this natural world without influencing how it is viewed, understood, and reported (Remenyi et al. 1998; Rogers 2006; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). An objective ontology maintains that whatever the researcher studies is not affected by their relationship with the informants because reality exists independently of the researcher and the informant (Collis and Hussey 2009; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). Thus, this assumption challenges the idea of the researcher and informant's influence on each other as claimed by Butcher (2013), Goulding (2005) and Mwiti and Goulding (2018). Objective ontology is incongruent with the interpretive and social constructivist's assumption that informs this research.

The second philosophical assumption is epistemology. The term epistemology describes 'what constitutes acceptable knowledge in a given field of study' (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009: 112). Epistemological assumption involves the examination of the relationship between the researcher and what is being researched to generate valid knowledge (Bryman and Bell 2007; Creswell 2013). Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2016) argue that a researcher's philosophical assumptions can influence research epistemology. Philosophical assumptions are essential because they support the researcher in making appropriate decisions regarding the form of reality they find in their fieldwork and how this reality will be recognised when it has been found. Both ontological and epistemological philosophical assumptions assist researchers in examining that reality (Creswell 2013). A researcher's philosophical assumptions also help those reading the research results to make sense of how and why the researcher arrived at the

conclusions that they did from their data. Creswell (2013) points out that philosophical assumptions constitute the logic of investigation such as the techniques used in data collection and analysis.

4.3 Interpretivism

This thesis is situated within the interpretive consumer research (hereafter ICR). In its purest form, interpretivism - within which ICR is situated - is grounded on the assumption that multiple realities are possible (Tadajewski 2006). This posit is warranted by a shared assumption among its proponents that meanings are socially constructed - such as through cultural conditioning, language, experiences, and shared practices (e.g. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016; Tadajewski 2006). Reality constitutes of multiple systems that are also dependent on other systems for their meaning to exists (Guba and Lincoln 1985; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). From this line of reasoning, ICR is ontologically subjectivist because reality is socially constructed through interpretations of lived worlds that produce multiple experiences (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019; Tadajewski 2006).

The idea of multiple experiences is akin to traditional tribes discussed in Chapter Three, where distinct customs, practices and meanings that are collectively shared produces a distinct 'Ubuntu' spirit for those in their tribe through social conditioning (section 3.5). From the literature reviewed in section 3.5, it seems conceivable to suppose that some aspects of tribes within a tribal society are subjectively interpreted by members, producing, for instance - the distinct 'Ubuntu' spirit (Mabovula 2011; Mbiti 1969, 2015). The literature reviewed indicates that traditional tribes distinguish one tribe from another based on a myriad of factors such as cultural-regional and linguistic differences (sub-section 1.2.1).

Within consumer behaviour studies, ICR is depicted as an ontology, epistemology and a methodological perspective whose origin is traceable to the 1930s' motivation research where an embryonic form of interpretive research existed (Tadajewski 2006). This view is analogous to Denzin and Lincoln (1995); Guba and Lincoln (1994) and Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2019) who trace the origin of the interpretive paradigm to early 20th century debates that challenged the dominance of positivism paradigm within academic research. Denzin and Lincoln (1995) argue that while the positivism paradigm has been successful in explaining the physical world typical in natural sciences, it is inadequate for a researcher exploring for understanding the complex social world as interpreted by those who experience it. The social world is ideally

understood by deploying models of interpretation, like the constructivist or critical theory, and applying research strategies such as ethnography, participatory and phenomenology (Denzin and Lincoln 1995: 350). These models and research strategies are depicted as appropriate approaches for understanding and explaining complex social phenomena. The limitation of the positivism paradigm to understand and explain complex social phenomena, in favour of the interpretive paradigm is echoed by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2019). Within consumer research, ICR authors such as Holbrook and O'Shaugnessy (1988); Hudson and Ozanne (1988); Goulding (1999) and Hogg and Maclaran (2008) maintain that an interpretive paradigm is appropriate rather than the positivist to comprehend social phenomena around consumption. Tadajewski (2006: 438) depicts ICR as an applicable perspective - ontologically, epistemologically and as a methodological approach - to understand consumers' interpretation of their context-dependent lived worlds, where the view of 'causality is multiple, simultaneous...and shaping'. Thus, from an ICR perspective, Tadajewski (2006) portrays reality as a social construct that is multiple and context dependent. This posit is analogous with opinions postulated by other consumer researchers such as Askegaard and Linnet (2011), who also propositions the notion of the context of contexts, and Cova and Elliot (2008), who underscores the importance of ICR in consumer studies.

Consequently, epistemologically, a researcher who adopts an interpretive position typically '…focus on narratives, stories, perceptions, and interpretations' to offer new understanding of informants' lived worlds (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019: 145). Therefore, an understanding of the informants' culture and history enhances a researcher's understanding of how meanings are constructed within the context of informants' lived worlds (Crotty 1998). Typically, this involves the researcher empathetically entering the informants' lived worlds to understand it from their points of view (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). However, entering the informants' lived worlds to understand it from their point of view - risks introducing researcher's subjective interpretations, hence the need for researcher's reflexivity, an aspect addressed later in this chapter.

Ontologically, ICR inclined researchers tend to de-emphasise the external concrete social world in preference for consumers' subjective experiences and interpretations of their social world (Tadajewski 2006). From this perspective, 'reality' is thus inter-subjectively constructed because the researcher interprets what the participants subjectively interpret from experiences of their lived social worlds. However, the context or research participants' lived world is still

vital to the researcher trying to comprehend how research participants make sense of it, and subsequently, their subjective interpretations of it. The importance of understanding the context of the research's context is highlighted by Askegaard and Linnet (2011) as a vital aspect of ICR. Earlier studies such as Hudson and Ozanne (1988); Thompson (1991) and Thompson (1997) also underscores the importance of understanding the context of research contexts within ICR. This understanding is vital because both the researcher and the informants are involved in constructing new understandings, subsequently co-producing their worldviews - a posit also echoed by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill's (2019) depiction of the interpretivism research paradigm. Thus, for interpretive researchers, social reality is inter-subjectively composed, so that epistemologically, knowledge is not approached from the standpoint of an external, objective position, but from the lived experience of the research co-participants.

Given the above understanding, the author's interpretations of tribal people's disclosed explanations of their lived worlds are illuminated by this ICR perspective. Consequently, the author acknowledges that the reported understanding of tribal people's consumption within the context of modernising Kenya (Chapters Five and Six), emerge from both the author and informant's collective interpretations. This posit is reasonable because both the author and informants' perspectives overlap, an aspect akin to posits taken by other researchers, such as Goulding (1999) and Thompson et al. (1994). Sub-section 4. 12, discusses the context within which this research took place whilst reflecting on the inadvertent impact of this context on the informants' interpretation of their Kenyan tribal context (sub-section 4.12.1 and 4.12.2.2). Furthermore, to mitigate potential conflict of interpretations, the author includes in this thesis, the research informants, and participants' verbatim statements about their meaning-making of their lived worlds within modernising Kenya.

Situating this research within the ICR paradigm is not unusual for consumer studies where consumption is studied as a culture or when studying cultural influences on consumption. For example, several studies situated within the CCT tradition tends to adopt ICR as the preferred paradigm (Cova and Elliot 2008; Goulding 1999; Holbrook and O'Shaughnessy 1988; Thompson, Arnould and Giesler 2013). It appears logical then, to paradigmatically position this thesis as interpretive consumer research, theoretically situated within the CCT tradition (section 1.4). However, this does not mean that all CCT positioned studies are, or must situate within ICR paradigmatically - but instead, this is the most appropriate for the present study due to the type

of research questions explored. While CCT typically concerns itself with consumer experiences, consumption as a culture and cultural meanings in consumption (Arnould and Thompson 2005), ICR is the paradigm that provides the methods for understanding consumers' interpretation of their contexts. Subsequently, both the ICR paradigm and CCT tradition are suitable means of exploring, understanding, and explaining tribal people's consumption practices within the context of a modernisation tribal society.

4.4 Constructivism

Constructivism asserts that researchers can only study a world of semiotics consisting of 'meanings represented in the signs and symbols people use to communicate' (Rogers 2006: 79). This position informs a constructivist's epistemology that views the world as being comprised of people's meaning-making realities. Any understanding of this world is enhanced if the researcher first acquires knowledge of how the people they study construct these meanings (Rogers 2006). For example, understanding why traditional tribes engage in particular practices requires that the researcher understands how tribal people construct and give meanings to tribal practices. The author assumes that a tribal society socially constructs and conditions its members to dispositions within their tribal field (Bourdieu 1977, 1984).

Both constructivism and social constructivism share an ontological similarity because of a mutual assumption that human agent subjectively interprets social phenomena to construct knowledge (Creswell 2013; Rogers 2006; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). However, the two perspectives slightly differ in what each emphasises. Constructivism assumes that knowledge emerges from the human agent's subjective cognitive processes. Social constructivism slightly differs in its assumption that knowledge lies within the domain of social exchange (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Rogers 2006; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). The latter approach is used in this study because it represents the author's interpretations of traditional tribes' fundamental characteristics (see Chapter three) as jointly constructed social meanings of their tribal society's lived worlds. Examples include the Kikuyu tribe's assigning of sacred tribal meanings on a seemingly ordinary fig tree (Appendix 4; Kenyatta 1938) or the Kamba tribe's belief in seers' ability to predict future events of relevance to their tribes (Luongo 2012). Social constructivism aligns with the notion of context of contexts (Askegaard and Linnet 2011), an aspect the author considers vital towards understanding a post-colonial tribal society that is experiencing modernisation.

If society creates its reality through joint meaning-making, then it is reasonable to conclude that a social constructivist accepts the possible existence of multiple bits of knowledge in society. As Rogers asserts, 'knowledge is highly contingent on time and cultural location' (Rogers 2006: 81). This assertion collaborates the literature reviewed in Chapter two, where it is concluded that consumer tribes are a relatively new phenomenon that reflects the dynamism in some parts of western society (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012; Maffesoli 1996, 2007). Kenyan tribes were also interfered with, through colonialism and modernisation, leading to the different bits of knowledge being socially-constructed such as in cultural assimilation to the Europeans (Lonsdale 2015; Sackey 2012). Thus, Chapters two and three show that certain aspects of the Western and Kenyan societies are products of joint social construction.

Social constructivism epistemology stresses that social processes are involved in people's construction of reality during their ongoing conversations and interactions (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Rogers 2006), constructing their unique systems of knowing. This individually interpreted whilst also jointly constructed reality implies that people may introduce their selective and biased presumptions (Chalmers 1999), hence, constructivism and social constructivism are both ontologically subjective (Creswell 2007; 2013; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). Therefore, both terms are used in this section because both are relevant, although emphasis is on social construction of meanings. These viewpoints are vital illumines to the literature reviewed on consumer tribes and traditional tribes separately, which portray both types of tribes as capable of meaning-making and socially constructing their realities (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Sahlins 2004, 2013; Weiner 1992). A constructivist's perspective acknowledges that a real, natural material world also exists besides the socially constructed world (Edwards., Ashmore and Potter 1995). For example, the fig tree that the Kikuyu assign tribal sacred meanings exists as a physical object. Some writers on constructivism have also maintained that the representation of this natural material world is still not entirely exempt from perpetual human meaning-making (Chalmers 1999; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016; Lynch and Cole 2005). However, according to Rogers, the representation of the natural world in the natural sciences is most probably 'influenced by what scientists choose to observe, how they interpret what they find and crucially, the stories they tell about what they have observed and found' (Rogers 2006: 80).

4.4.1 Relevance of constructivism's assumptions

As noted in section 4.4 above, constructivism views knowledge and what constitutes reality in the world as being collaboratively invented, negotiated, and constructed by people (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Rogers 2006). Consequently, the facts about reality that are accepted by one group might not be viewed likewise by another (Creswell 2003; 2007; Rogers 2006; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). Thus, a given society's facts about their reality emerge from their socially connected human activity, such as their mutually understood practices (Bourdieu 1977). This explains why differences might exist within society, such as with tribal practices and subsequent distinct interpretations.

Multiple realities exist in society as a result of differences in society's meaning-making which is socially invented and collaboratively negotiated. Consequently, subjective 'knowledge' is accepted within a group sharing mutual understanding (Rogers 2006). This insight is vital in researching tribal societies and their consumption practices because it informs the researcher's choice of appropriate methods to explore how tribes construct their accepted facts and knowledge about their reality through collective meaning-making.

A given society's accepted facts about its reality become a means by which power is acquired and exercised by those possessing knowledge of such realities (Friedson 1986). The group's accepted realities are expressed through semantics, representations, signs, and symbols that can be deciphered by those possessing knowledge of these realities (Rogers 2006). New members of the group learn and acquire the accepted realities through engagement with the group's social activities (Rogers 2006). There is thus some inter-subjectivity of social meanings taking place during the learning and engagement within the group during their collective activities. This insight is vital when researching marketplace tribes, especially if we accept that its members self-organise and engage in collective activities (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007). For tribal societies, they typically have norms, taboos, values, and belief systems unique to their tribe and new members are expected to learn them before they can be accepted into the tribe (Kenyatta 2015; Middleton and Kershaw 2017).

If we accept that traditional tribes are social groups who share the above characteristics, then shared knowledge about these aspects can differ between tribes. Rogers (2006) argues that constructivism entails multiple socially constructed realities and plays a pivotal role in directing the researcher towards appropriate methods of exploration (Rogers 2006; Creswell 2007).

Thus, constructivism helps the author choose methods that aid explanation and interpretation of tribal practices and the shared collective meaning-making that tribes socially construct and share. This is possible because meanings are constructed through human activity and interactions (Rogers 2006). Equipped with this knowledge, the author chose data collection techniques allowing for prolonged interactions with the informants (Bourdieu 1998; Butcher 2013; Goulding 2005), exploring how they construct and collectively share meanings pertinent to their tribal society *vis-a-vis* the broader societal context.

4.4.2 Limitations and mitigation of constructivism

If we accept constructivism and the social constructivism assumptions, then we may suppose a potential limitation of an increased risk of subjectivity. This arises both from the informant's subjective nature of meaning-making and the researcher's subjective interpretation of those meanings. Given that informants are drawn from a tribal society, prior learning within the tribe risks introducing subjective meaning-making. Also, data interpretation must contend with making sense of the complicated semantics, signs, and symbols (Rogers 2006), such as those drawn from informants' respective tribes and used to make representations of their respective constructed realities (Kenyatta 1938; Muriuki 1974; Muriuki and Sobania 2007; Luongo 2012). Given that an individual's background can influence how they see and interpret the world they live in (Chalmers 1999; Rogers 2006), we can infer that even the author's tribal background risks influencing data interpretation. To mitigate this potential source of bias, a section covering the author's reflexivity is included in this thesis (see sub-section 4.12). Reflexivity describes the process by which a researcher evaluates their positionality within the research process and then acknowledges how their position affects the research outcome. Reflexivity typically self-examines the researcher's actions and conduct in knowledge construction from the research project (Berger 2015). To minimise the challenges of social constructivism, the author first sought an in-depth understanding of the prospective informants' tribal socio-cultural contexts. Familiarisation is strengthened by the fact that the author was born and brought up among the Kikuyu tribe in Kenya and so already familiar with some tribal folklores, myths and cultural meanings. This insight helped with interpreting tribal peoples' lived experiences, nuances and how they made sense of their worlds, while also recognising the risk of the author as the researcher.

4.5 Research approach: inductive

This section explores what constitutes inductive qualitative research and why this is appropriate to this study. An inductive qualitative approach is suitable because the author sought tribal informants' views, attitudes, perceptions, motivations, and meaning-making regarding membership to coalescence of tribal people and their ensuing consumption practices. Creswell points out that, in a qualitative approach to research, the inquirer 'often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspective', to develop a theory or pattern (Creswell 2003: 18). A research approach that results in the development of new theory because of observation of empirical data is typically referred to as an inductive study (Creswell 2003; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016). This research is inductive because the author approached it without prior hypotheses but with participant observations, non-participant online desk searches, and in-depth interviews with informants to generate new knowledge and understanding.

For theory to emerge without a prior hypothesis (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2016), multiple data collection methods are frequently applied, particularly in researching the consumption practices of consumer groups (Cova and Cova 2002), primarily for maximising chances of acquiring rich, credible, and valid knowledge. Consumer researchers exploring consumer tribes and their consumption practices to develop new theories have previously effectively employed and recommended multiple data collection methods (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013). For example, Cova and Cova (2002: 605) advise marketers seeking to study consumer tribes 'to cast aside the more traditional mono-disciplinary, systematic approaches and to favour practices based on detecting signs, foraging for hints and exploring the unusual'. They recommend foraging for research hints through desk research, virtual platforms such as net forums, structured and semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. Consumer researchers such as Cova and Pace (2006), Kozinets, Hemetsberger and Schau (2008) and Coskuner-Balli and Thompson (2013) have also shown that consumers have previously used physical and web-based spaces in their quest for links with others. These studies highlight the need to consider both physical and web-based spaces in search of understanding contemporary consumer gatherings instead of a single method.

Employing multiple data collection techniques to study tribes is also consistent with approaches used to study consumer communities in Western Europe and North America (Cova and Cova 2001, 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Cova and Pace 2006). For example, Cova and Cova (2001) used multiple data collection methods to study the urban tribe of in-line roller-skaters in France. Cova and Pace (2006) also successfully applied multiple data collection techniques in their study of the 'Nutella the community' demonstrating the approach's effectiveness in detecting signs of tribal behaviour. Likewise, Otnes and Maclaran (2007; 2018) spent two years studying the British royal family brand tribe. Multiple data collection techniques were applied to explore the tribe's rituals and roles in the consumption of the British royal family's heritage. Fournier and Lee's (2009) research on the Harley Davidson brand community in the USA also demonstrated the effectiveness of multiple data collection techniques in maximising research rigour when studying consumer communities. All these studies effectively manage to build new theory through the employment of multiple data collection techniques. Thus, these examples suggest that researchers may not always understand in just a single brief encounter with informants how people construct their versions of reality. However, efforts to involve participants through diverse techniques and data collection processes can help in this regard (Cova and Cova 2002). Therefore, this study adopted methods of interaction that allowed for detailed involvement during the fieldwork data collection phase, hence the use of multiple data collection methods encompassing both physical and virtual spaces, consistent with similar consumer studies (such as Cova and Cova 2002).

4.6 Research strategy: ethnography

Ethnography is a research strategy well-aligned to an inductive research approach (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009) discussed in the preceding section. Ethnography was adopted for this study primarily because this research sought depth of understanding of the lived social world of tribes rather than breadth (Bryman and Bell 2007). New theory was also expected to emerge only from the author's interaction with those studied in the field (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009). Bryman (2012: 431) asserts that ethnography is:

> primarily associated with social anthropological research, whereby the investigator visits a (usually) foreign land, gains access to a group (for example, a tribe or village), spends a considerable amount of time […] with that group with the aim of uncovering its culture.

This is important because it is like the nature of this study that sought to understand the lived social world of traditional tribes. Bryman (2012) also claims that ethnography typically involves immersing with those whose social world the researcher aims to understand, observing participants and making field notes, and is often accompanied by interviews. This aligns with the multi-method data collection methods often used by consumer researchers studying consumer tribes (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013; Goulding, Shankar, Elliott and Canniford 2008; Otnes and Maclaran 2007; 2018). Bryman's (2012) claim is collaborated by Bell, Bryman and Harley (2018), who add that participant observation is itself subsumed by ethnography. These examples show that the choices made for this research are commonly understood and used in research. This is also important because this study uses participant observation as a data collection technique in agreement with consumer tribe researchers such as Cova and Cova (2002); Cova, Kozinets and Shankar (2012); Goulding, Shankar and Canniford (2013).

Ethnography, as used here, is the strategy which encompasses data collection methods such as participant observations (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018; Cova and Cova 2002; Elliot and Jankel-Elliot 2003), in-depth interviews (Bryman and Bell 2007; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009), and online involvement (Kozinets 2010). These data collection methods are discussed later in this chapter. To understand the lived world of tribes in a modernising society, an extended period of immersion into the tribes' social world was necessary in line with generally accepted practice in ethnographic studies (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018; Butcher 2013; Goulding 2005; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009; Wolcott 1990, 1999).

Ethnography is rooted in anthropology (Elliot and Jankel-Elliot 2003; Goulding 2005; Wall 2014). It has been used successfully in consumer studies similar to this one; for example, ethnography was useful in Goulding and Saren's (2007, 2009) research on gender identities within the gothic subculture; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford's (2013) exploration of marketplace cultures and communal consumption; Otnes and Maclara's (2018) study of the BRF tribe; and Fourneer and Lee's (2009) study of the Harley Davidson community. Bell, Bryman and Harley (2018) sum it up well in noting that an ethnography strategy is naturalistic as the researcher seeks to understand a phenomenon within the context in which it occurs, hence the advice to not use data collection techniques that oversimplify the complexity of everyday lived social worlds.

Ethnography as a strategy leads to more time in the field, whether physically or online (Bryman and Bell 2007; Kozinets 2010). Therefore, it has its limitations because searching for depth in understanding the lived social world of informants requires prolonged immersion with the subjects of the study, with the associated time constraints (Bryman 2012). It also typically involves taking a lot of fieldnotes (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2012) and is often accompanied by interviews to establish how the participants interpret their lived social worlds (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018). However, notwithstanding these limitations, it was still considered the most suitable strategy for this study. The longer time required for fieldwork in both physical (three months) and online spaces (12 months) allowed the author depth of understanding, while the textual data recorded as fieldnotes allowed the researcher to view the tribes' lived worlds from different perspectives, subsequently supporting the data interpretation.

4.7 Data collection methods

This section discusses how the participants for observation and interview were selected and the multi-method data collection instruments employed.

4.7.1 Sampling strategy, recruitment, and selection of informants

Before commencing the sampling process, the author (researcher) engaged with the literature on Kenyan tribes, their customs, and their responses to modernisation (Chapter 3). This approach aligns with Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill's (2019) advice to researchers, where they recommend familiarisation with the population of interest before making sampling decisions.

Sampling describes the process by which a researcher selects a proportion of the population of interest for study (Bryman and Bell 2007; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). Generally, the sample should provide insight into the entire population of interest (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). Therefore, sampling is an effective alternative to interviewing the entire population of interest, and a vital strategy where it would be impractical to include all the population cases due to access issues, time, or cost constraints (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). It played a vital role in sampling the tribal lived world of Kenyans whose population at the time of the study was estimated to be 39 million based on 2009 census and with 43 traditional tribes (Kenya Gazette 2017; KNBS 2009). Before a sample collection, the researcher needs a sampling frame to determine the population of interest (Kent 2007). The sampling frame consists of the qualifying characteristics that the researcher uses to identify someone in the population of interest (Kent 2007; Malhotra and Birks 2007; Saunders,

Lewis and Thornhill 2019). Typically, the sampling frame characteristics depend on the research aim, questions and objectives (Bryman and Bell 2007; Malhotra 2010; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019).

Subsequently, for this research, the critical characteristics of the population of interest were:

1. individuals identify themselves as belonging to a traditional tribe;
2. individuals must be members of at least one self-organised tribal collective;
3. individuals must be over 18 years old and with no known vulnerability; and
4. informants should be resident in Kenya.

These characteristics were also influenced by the study's scope and boundaries set for the available time for fieldwork, accessibility of informants, and funds available. These considerations are not unusual for a time-constrained cross-sectional research (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). The considerations also allow the researcher some flexibility during fieldwork to refine the scope in selecting a sample (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018). Given the nature of the research questions and sampling frame, recruitment was purposefully executed, with known contacts assisting through snowballing techniques (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). This ensured that those taking part in the study met the criteria established above.

Generally, once the researcher creates the sampling frame, the sample is then selected from the population of interest through either probability or non-probability methods (Malhotra and Birks 2007; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). Probability sampling covers methods that are independent of human judgement in determining which member out of the population of interest will be selected to take part in the research; for instance, random or systematic methods (Malhotra and Birks 2007). Non-probability sampling covers methods that are influenced by the researcher's subjective judgement, hence not all members of the population of interest have an equal chance to be selected in the sample (Malhotra 2010; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). Nevertheless, although not all members of the population of interest have the same chance to be selected during sampling, the researcher's judgement when appropriately executed enables selection of those relevant to address the research questions (Bryman and Bell 2007; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). Non-probability methods include purposive, convenience, quota, snowball and self-selection sampling methods (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). Purposive sampling is typical in qualitative studies, but unlike convenience sampling which 'is simply available by chance to the researcher', purposive sampling is employed with the research goals in mind hence more strategically executed (Bryman 2012: 418).

In this study, a non-probability purposive sampling method was used, selecting sample units based on the author's subjective judgement of what was most likely to assist in answering the research questions (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). Consequently, not every traditional tribe and not all TCs of tribal people in Kenya are represented as to attempt to do so would be not only costly but also impractical for a project of this scale. Informants were drawn from eight TCs following the snowballing technique (Bryman 2012) where personal contacts recommended informants whom they knew belonged to self-organised TCs. The multiple data collection techniques employed consisted of:

1. 26 in-depth semi-structured interviews.
2. Observations and interviews with informants drawn from eight self-organised gatherings of tribal people. The small number of gatherings studied allowed for a detailed investigation of each, maximising the rigour and depth of understanding. This was achieved through spending more time with informants, observing them in their physical spaces and later complementing this with interviews.
3. A 12 month non-participant online observation of tribes' affiliated Kenyan websites

4.7.2 In-depth interviews

The interviews typically adopted a probing approach whereby an informant's response to a question determined the next question (Kent 2007). An in-depth interview is typically structured, semi-structured, or unstructured to probe in detail into the informant's opinions, attitudes, and motivations that would be difficult to gauge through structured questioning using questionnaires (Kent 2007; Malhotra and Birks 2007). When well-executed, in-depth interviewing is a rigorous and robust qualitative technique for generating rich data from informants (Bryman and Bell 2015). Although often entailing a semi-structured and unstructured approach to data collection (Malhotra 2010; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019), in-depth interviews can be effectively implemented by having a guide to the themes under investigation (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018), such as those explored in this study. The interview guide in Table A1 (see Appendix 1) was employed for this study. It allowed for the same themes to be covered with all the informants, enhancing the author's understanding of how different informants interpreted the same context of their social world. A semi-structured interview guide elicits views and opinions from informants around similar themes, yet without being constrained by the guide (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018; Bryman and Bell 2015). Semi-structured in-depth inter-

views focus on the exploration of individual subjective experiences while also helping the researcher to extract common themes from different informants owing to similar questions being asked of each. This is consistent with advice given by several qualitative researchers including Crotty (1998), Creswell (2003, 2013), Bryman and Bell (2015), and Bell, Bryman and Harley (2018).

The author used semi-structured in-depth interviews following similar general questions with all the informants. Semi-structured interviews helped with identifying and exploring the existence of shared agreements or differences between different informants' interpretation of the same social world – for example, the different genders' interpretation of the same tribal customs. To comprehend informant's experiences of their TCs, a semi-structured in-depth interview probed for their individual experiences (such as their motivations to join, opinions of, and attitudes towards them). Likewise, the probing explored their consumption choices which they attributed to their membership of a given TC. A similar probing approach was then followed with other informants exploring similar key themes, whilst adapting the probing technique depending on individual informant's responses.

The 26 interviews lasted between 37 minutes and over two hours, generating over 60,000 words of transcribed data. Owing to the face-to-face nature of in-depth interviews, the author managed to also note the body language observed. Notes made during fieldwork generated approximately 80,000 words of handwritten field notes and self-recorded dictation. Observations were captured in the field notes written soon after each interview.

In-depth interviews are not new to consumer research. A study of how Italian men negotiated the boundaries in fashion consumption demonstrated how long unstructured in-depth interviews through open-ended probing helped the author to contribute to consumer research by revealing a more profound understanding of informants in the study (Rinallo 2007). Body language can be noted, which further facilitates the probing approach; for instance, by following a statement with a 'why' question and then taking notes on the informant's body language or observing body language followed by a probing question. For example, an informant who claims to like everything to be traditionally tribal yet is observed to engage in conventional modern practices invites a probe to determine how they reconcile such tensions. This approach alone does not necessarily guarantee a conclusive understanding of informants' lived worlds, but it offers research rigour and richness by maximising understanding of the informant's

meaning making by the author. Unclear statements were explored through probing to reveal a deeper understanding, consequently generating robust, rich data (Bryman 2012; Creswell 2003; Kent 2007; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2012). Thus, the author clarified unclear statements through probing to generate rich data.

Given the research questions and themes, in-depth interviews provided an appropriate technique to delve deeper into informants' opinions, motivations, attitudes, and reasons. They enabled a thorough examination of each practice and theme before moving on to the next until saturation using 'why' probing questions was achieved. The author requested all the informants' consent to the recording of the interviews, with the recordings enhancing the author's revisiting of the original interview material during analysis. Yet, like any other research method, in-depth interviews have limitations. A key challenge is the length of time required in the field. For example, in contrast to a focus group where typically six to 12 informants can be interviewed in one day (Wilson 2006), the same number of informants can take a week or more to interview (Kent 2007). In-depth interviews are typically dependent on excellent interpersonal skills between the researcher and the informants (Kent 2007; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2012). To increase the effectiveness of communication, the author attended doctoral training seminars organised by the Open University before fieldwork. The author also has previous training experience as a field researcher and was able to apply the necessary interpersonal skills to extract information from diverse informants. Three months was allocated to fieldwork, which was deemed a reasonable time frame to study eight gatherings of tribal people through participant observations and interview 26 informants.

4.7.3 Participant observation

Participant observation is a data collection technique widely associated with ethnography (Elliot and Jankel-Elliot 2003). As noted earlier, ethnography is a qualitative research strategy tracing its origin to anthropological studies (Bryman 2012; Elliot and Jankel-Elliot 2003; Goulding 2005) and social anthropology (Wall 2014). Participant observation was adopted for this research as an effective technique to gather vital data on the practices of traditional tribes within modernising Kenya to complement the interviews. Observations helped identify unique tribal practices for further probing to establish meanings that the informants associated with these practices and what they meant at the broader societal level.

Ethnography studies require that the researcher embeds themselves in the field to produce a meaningful narrative from their observations (Butcher 2013). From a practice theory perspective, this refers to sustained immersion into the habitus and everyday lives of the society being studied (Bourdieu 2008; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Wacquant 2004). The field is relational (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) and may present challenges to the ethnographer (Bryman 2012; Butcher 2013), primarily because the researcher is an outsider, with the associated risk of disruption of the habitus being researched (Bourdieu 2008; Bourdieu 2017). Thus, a structured approach to participant observation is essential.

The author partially draws upon the work of Elliot and Jankel-Elliot (2003), who postulates that participant observation as a data collection technique should typically follow four stages:

1. Establishing rapport with potential research participants.
2. The researcher immersing themselves into the group under observation.
3. The researcher recording data during their immersion.
4. The researcher consolidating the information gathered during fieldwork for analysis.

Goulding (2005: 298) asserts that participant observation when used to study culture 'looks beyond what people say to understand the shared system of meanings'. Goulding's (2005) view is relevant to this study because the author sought to understand the tribal culture in modernising society and how this manifest and is expressed through consumption practices to affirm tribal identities.

Participant observation is underpinned by four central tenets derived from ethnography (Elliot and Jankel-Elliot 2003). The first supposes that the observation takes place in the natural settings of those being observed. The assumption is that this natural setting enables the observer to experience the 'real' world as experienced by those they observe.

The second tenet is that the researcher's understanding of the informants' meaning-making, shared meanings and their symbolic world is a prerequisite for effective observation (Elliot and Jankel-Elliot 2003). This is akin to an observation by Butcher (2013) that highlights the importance of ethnographers embedding themselves in the field to make meaningful and compelling narrative claims from their ethnography. For example, understanding participants' jargon, unique uses of words, dialect, signs, and symbols will increase the researcher's understanding

of participants' social behaviour (Elliot and Jankel-Elliot 2003; Goulding 2005) (Butcher 2013). The author in this study, has prior knowledge of tribal culture because he is of Kikuyu tribal extraction. This helped in quickly grasping and understanding participants' practices. This also helped the author to overcome some of the challenges ethnographers encounter in the field such as a 'longing to belong' where the researcher wrestles with explaining the lives of the 'other' that they observe in the field while themselves being perceived as an outsider 'other' by the participants (Butcher 2013: 243).

Thirdly, participant observation typically takes place over an extended period within the participant's natural world, to allow for an effective understanding of their social world (Goulding 2005).

Fourthly, the researcher engages with participants and is immersed in their cultural life to experience what they experience. This immersion into the participants' cultural life allows for a deeper and richer understanding of their real natural world (Elliot and Jankel-Elliot 2003: 216).

Participant observation as a data collection technique has been effectively employed in various consumer studies. For example, in a study of baseball consumer communities through participant observation, Holt demonstrated how consumer researchers benefit from effective researcher interactions with participants in their natural settings (Holt 1995). This technique has also been effective in studying consumer communities such as the Harley Davidson subculture community in the USA (Fournier and Lee 2009), consumer tribes such as the Whitby Goth (Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013) and brand tribes such as the BRF tribe (Otnes and Maclaran 2018). Participant observation is characterised by the researcher, engaging with those being studied in four ways (Elliott and Jankel-Elliott 2003). First, observation can involve full participation, whereby the researcher does not reveal to those being observed the intentions of the research. This approach is not suitable for this study because it would pose significant ethical challenges due to the complexity of assuring consent.

Second, the observation can take the form of a participant-observer, where the researcher takes on a role within the community being studied to observe it (Wolcott 1990, 1999). This role is inappropriate for this research as it would be ineffective when studying different tribal gatherings and their diverse consumption practices owing to time constraints. This also enhances the risk of increased subjectivity which would threaten the research validity.

The third observation paradigm is the pure observer, where the researcher does not engage in the social events of those being studied. Instead, they adopt a covert eavesdropping persona from a position where they are invisible to those being observed. This approach is also inappropriate for this research owing to the lack of consent from those being observed. Furthermore, given its covert nature, this approach denies the researcher an opportunity to hold impromptu interviews and casual conversations with the sample group, thus limiting the opportunity to seek explanations of the participants' observed behaviour.

The fourth approach and the one considered most suitable for this research is the observer as a participant, where the researcher immerses themselves, engages and interacts with informants in their natural settings. Typically, impromptu informal interviews and casual conversations complement this approach. The researcher takes part in social events with informants to gain similar experiences to theirs (Elliott and Jankel-Elliott 2003). To understand why tribal people chose to coalesce with others while still within a tribal society, this author mingled with them to observe what was happening and followed up with interviews for a deeper understanding. This approach was adopted in this research because it is the most appropriate and effective way to answer the research questions.

4.7.4 Online data collection

Following the multi-method data collection approach adopted for this study, the author utilised publicly available online sources of tribal affiliated websites as a complementary data collection method. The initial intention was to gain consent to follow and participate in Facebook activities of tribal people with membership to TCs that also had a Facebook presence. However, this was complicated since only two of the 26 informants consented to this request. Even with the two consenting, they both belonged to a closed Facebook group where part of the administration rules was that those invited by members and accepted by their Facebook administrator could not disclose the group's discussions to non-members. Consequently, data from these Facebook closed group pages could not be used in this thesis as doing so without the administrators' and other group members' explicit consent would contravene the Open University's Human Research Ethics Committee's (HREC) approval memorandum (see Appendix 2) and terms of participant consent (Appendix 3). So, comments from the two volunteers were not sufficiently substantial to add much of worth to the rich data captured from the interviews and participant observations.

However, participant observation from other publicly available Facebook pages assisted in gaining a general idea of tribal debates, consequently assisting and helping identify other publicly accessible tribal websites from where important themes emerged. Thus, this study only used publicly available posts from Facebook pages of tribal gatherings and other websites claiming representation of tribal societies in Kenya. Data from these sources could not be authenticated through in-depth interviews as was earlier envisaged. However, the information gleaned from Facebook posts purporting to represent tribal people afforded insight into the broader general societal debates regarding tribal identities. This facilitated understanding and partial interpretation of the tribal discourses in Kenya.

4.8 Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is a flexible approach to analysing large amounts of qualitative data (Braun and Clarke 2006; Miles and Huberman 1994). It offers intellectual freedom to interact and interpret data without being significantly constrained by a theory (Bryman and Bell 2007; Kozinets 2013), consequently ensuring that categories and ultimately themes emerge from the data sets (Braun and Clarke 2006; Miles, Hubermann and Saldana 2014).

However, some authors such as Antaki, Billig and Potter (2003) and Guest, Macqueen and Namey (2012) question this flexibility. Flexibility risks introducing researcher-bias and subjectivity, which threatens research reliability (Antaki, Billig and Potter 2003). Braun and Clarke (2006: 97) defend thematic analysis by pointing out that where thematic analysis is appropriately carried out, not only does it offer theoretical freedom through flexibility, it also enhances 'thick descriptions of the data sets'. These descriptions summarise vital features of a large body of data, making vast and complex qualitative data not only accessible to researchers with little or no experience of qualitative research, but also comprehensible to others who may lack an advanced knowledge of qualitative data analysis (Braun and Clarke (2006). Thus, a qualitative researcher can make their work accessible to non-experts, hence appealing to a broader audience. Belk and Sobh (2018), appear to echo similar views to those of Braun and Clarke's (2006) in their call for Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) researchers to pursue theoretically unconstrained and original phenomenon-driven theory building to produce thematically and inductively produced alternative theoretical explanations. Without an appropriately carried-out thematic analysis, theoretical freedom still risks being compromised. Hence, this research follows a rigorous step-by-step data organisation, displaying, reading and re-reading before emergent

themes are assessed against the research questions and extant literature (Braun and Clarke 2006). Accordingly, the researcher's interpretation of the findings is postulated as plausible.

To ensure plausibility was achieved in this thesis, the findings reported here are grounded in the data gathered from informants' interviews and field notes made from both participant and non-participant observations. Thus, all interpretations are made from quotes drawn from informants and fieldnotes (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7), and excerpts are presented as they were first received during the fieldwork. Therefore, in agreement with Maclaran and Hogg's (2008:138) assertion that qualitative study's plausibility is attained when researchers have something 'distinctive to offer', this research proposes a new contribution to our understanding of marketplace consumer coalescence through an exploration and reporting of the lived experiences of tribal people in modernising Kenya by examining informants' actual descriptions of their lived experiences.

4.9 Data organisation, presentation, and analysis

This section discusses how the different types of qualitative data were analysed. Generation of data began immediately after the fieldwork was approved by the Open University HREC on 23 December 2016. Data generation took different forms, such as through phone calls, websites and Facebook searches, meetings with tribal people both with and without avowed membership to TCs, participation in tribal gatherings in Kenya, and interviews with consenting informants. Data generation continued until October 2017 when the author concluded that saturation had been reached. This section discusses the process of preparing, organising, and analysing the raw data collected. The steps followed are adapted from different authors who recommend methods of analysing qualitative data (Braun and Clarke 2006; Bryman and Bell 2007; Miles and Hubermann 1994; Saldana, Miles and Hubermann 2014).

4.9.1 Analysing interview, field, and online data

Qualitative data collection instruments such as interviews and participant observations typically generate a lot of textual data (Miles and Hubermann 1994). Unless this data is suitably prepared, organised, and displayed, it is meaningless and several researchers have recommended structured steps to aid qualitative data analysis (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018; Braun and Clarke 2006; Bryman and Bell 2007, 2015; Creswell 2003; Kozinets 2013; Saldana, Miles and Hubermann 2014; Silver and Lewis 2014). While the number of steps suggested varies, there is consensus that raw data should first be transformed into a usable format, then organised,

displayed and interpreted (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018; Braun and Clarke 2006; Creswell 2003; Kozinets 2013; Saldana, Miles and Hubermann 2014; Silver and Lewis 2014). Given the multi-method data collection instruments used in this research, a lot of qualitative textual data was produced. In total, more than 140,000 thousand words of qualitative textual data were collected from field notes, Facebook posts, and transcribed interviews. The author drew from and adapted the recommended step-by-step approach endorsed by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Kozinets (2013), which in turn drew on the steps advocated by Miles and Hubermann (1994) and Creswell (2003). These steps are logical and easy to apply with complex, massive textual data. The data was analysed using the steps detailed in Table 4.1.

Table 4. 1: Steps followed in thematic data analysis

Step	Description	Example of how the step was executed
Preparing data	Transcription of interviews, processing and preparation of field notes.	Interviews in English transcribed. Interviews in Kikuyu translated into English first then re-translated back to check accuracy in meanings. Field notes typed and organised according to self-organised tribal gatherings studied and context.
Noting	Familiarisation with transcribed interviews and field notes.	The author read, backtracked and re-read transcribed interviews, field notes and research journey notebooks to familiarise myself with the data and to search for themes. I also checked my Open University 'One drive' for notes made during participant observations. Data summaries were made from field notes on each of the eight self-organised tribal gatherings and for each transcribed interview. This was a rigorous and lengthy process which took much time. Amendments were added to the initial data summaries. However, these initial summaries and amended summaries have been critical in enabling further in-depth interrogation of the data summaries – resulting in the refinement and modification of codes and thematic categories.
Coding	Grouping data together in codes and categories.	Data summaries and notes made in step 2 above, arranged into related codes. An example of coded data: *'We all recognised we have [had] a common problem … that of dowry. You see there are some [of us tribal people] who want to pay their respects to parents of the girl [and thereby conform to customary tribal requirements] but have never been able to go to the support them'* **John.** This quote was categorised under 'tribal symbolic heritage consumption'. Codes were ascribed onto data summaries allowing for the identification of emerging themes. This was followed by patterns and relationship identification and reflection.
Abstracting and comparing	Theme description, checking whether themes work according to codes identified in step 3 above.	Patterns and relationships with themes identified, reviewed and interpreted.
Narrating themes to convey findings	Constructing and explaining narratives from themes.	Themes are described in a narrative form. Excerpts from field notes and interview transcripts were used to report findings under headings drawn from these themes. The main themes and sub-themes have been used to structure the headings in Chapters five and six of this thesis. Chapter five presents findings concerning how traditional tribes in modernising Kenya affirm and assert their tribal identities through tribal heritage and market-derived consumption. Chapter six presents findings concerning how self-organised gatherings constituting tribal people emerge and act as platforms for negotiating consumption.
Data interpretation, theorising and writing up the report	This step denotes theory construction.	In line with the inductive research approach adopted in this thesis, emergent themes shape our understanding of the conceptualisation of traditional tribes, whether they constitute consumers as consumer tribes or whether a new form of the tribe is emerging in a modernising Kenya.

Source: Adapted from Braun and Clarke (2006: 87); Creswell (2003: 190-195) and Kozinets (2013: 119).

Braun and Clarke (2006) propose a six-step approach to thematic analysis. The thematic analysis describes 'a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns [themes] within data' (Braun and Clarke 2006: 79).

These steps begin with the researcher familiarising themselves with the data to generate initial ideas. This includes transcribing, reading and re-reading texts to discover ideas. Once the researcher identifies the initial ideas from the data, then code generation follows. Codes are used to aid the ordering of the data. The researcher then collates the codes into themes by grouping related codes. The fourth step involves reviewing themes to check whether codes and related data extracts makes sense across the entire data set. If they are aligned, then the analysis progresses to the fifth step where the themes are named and mapped; otherwise, the process is repeated. The sixth step proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) is producing the report. At this point, the researcher reviews the themes against their research questions and uses extracts to support any claims made. These are the steps that guided my data analysis.

4.9.2 Steps followed in analysing internet-derived data

With Facebook and website-derived data, the qualitative data gathered through this technique was used to provide insight into tribal discourses and inform, whilst complementing the other methods of data gathering rather than being the primary source of data in this thesis. Regarding textual data analysis, the six steps by Braun and Clarke (2006) resonates with the six steps originally proposed by Miles and Hubermann (1994) as suitable approaches to the analysis of the online derived data.

It is generally acknowledged that qualitative studies produce a lot of textual data (Bell, Bryman and Harley 2018; Bryman and Bell 2007, 2015; Creswell 2003; Miles and Hubermann 1994) and the number of steps for analysis, although likely to differ, will follow a similar logical process of data reduction (Braun and Clarke 2006; Kozinets 2013; Saldana, Miles and Hubermann 2014; Silver and Lewis 2014).

4.9.3 Codes and data condensation

To make sense of the extensive textual data generated from the multi-method qualitative data-gathering instruments used, the author created codes. A code is a term used to describe 'labels that assign symbolic meaning to descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study'

(Saldana, Miles and Hubermann 2014: 71). Although qualitative data analysis software packages can be helpful in coding and classifying an extensive data set, this research predominantly used a manual thematic approach in analysing the data as software packages 'inevitably involve trading off symbolic richness for construct clarity' (Kozinets 2002: 64).

Codes are essential for data concentration where a qualitative researcher makes their data summaries from large textual data stronger by 'selecting, simplifying, abstracting and transforming data […to] sharpen, sort and organise data' while analysing data to support conclusions drawn and subsequent verifications (Saldana, Miles and Hubermann 2014: 12). Codes help the researcher identify themes to focus on, sometimes even before commencing data collection such as when deciding which conceptual frameworks to use and research questions to focus on (Saldana, Miles and Hubermann 2014). In this thesis, some priori-codes were derived from reviewed literature and secondary sources of data.

NVivo 12 (QSR International) software and manually generated codes were both applied on collected data. However, although software was initially used, after weighting the richness of interpretation emerging from manual identification of themes, manual analysis using created and understood codes was chosen as the main thematic analysis option. This is because whereas NVivo software was initially helpful in making sense of the large textual data, manual identification of themes, although time-consuming, ensured that the author clearly understood the data. Therefore, the author reduced the use of software in preference for manual themes identification and subsequent analysis. This was particularly necessary owing to tribal people's tendency to use riddles, proverbs and locally known adages in their communication and NVivo software tended to rely on literal meanings. For example, a critical excerpt such as '*mwacha mira ni mtumwa*', which is a Kiswahili saying translating to 'those who abandon their heritage are slaves', was not picked by the software. Another example of software limitation was the excerpt '*cia mucii ti como*', a Kikuyu cliché which translates as 'that which is of the house is not for the outside', but its closest English meaning would be 'do not share our intimate tribal values with non-tribal people'. Without manually familiarising with the data to apply codes, categories and themes identification, this vital point that reveals secret meanings and tribal nuances of seemingly ordinary tribal rituals and practices could easily be missed.

The author's awareness of the local tribal cultures, the implied meanings in conversations with tribal people, idioms, clichés and other nuances substantially reduced the need for software use

in thematic analysis in favour of the manual but still inductively reasoned 'bottom-up' approach (Braun and Clarke 2006:83). The identification of this data-driven theme extraction is well aligned with the inductive research approach discussed in section 4.5. Table 4.2 outlines the questions explored in the study.

Table 4. 2: Summary of select interview questions probed

The individual (ind)	
Areas covered during interview and in-depth probing.	Code for analysis
1 Informant's tribal identity and views about tribal societies in Kenya.	1 ind.
2 Informant's reason for joining this gathering (group). What the group means to the informant.	2 ind.
3 Process the informant went through to become a member of this gathering/group (e.g. prerequisites for acceptance into the group).	3 ind.
4 Informant's roles within the group (including attendance to group events, commitment and loyalty to both group and other members).	4 ind.
5 Consumption choices informants have made since joining this group.	5 ind.
6 How does the group cater to and accommodate informant's tribal values/background? Any conflicts?	6 ind.
The group (gr)	
Areas covered during interview and in-depth probing.	Code for analysis
1. Why the group was formed and what the group does.	1 gr.
2. Group organisation (e.g. structure, events and other members' roles within the group).	2 gr.
3. What happens during the group's events? How does the group accommodate and reconcile the traditional tribal values with modern values?	3 gr.
4. What holds this group together?	4 gr.
5. Defining characteristics of this self-organised gatherings	5 gr.

Consumption, individual, and the group (cig)	
Areas covered during interview and in-depth probing.	Code for analysis
1. Type of consumption that happens during group events. What has been observed happening in the group that is attributable to the member's tribal backgrounds?	1 cig.
2. What are the [and why are these] brands /products typically used by members of this gathering?	2 cig.
3. Consumption of local goods and foreign goods. Any conflict?	3 cig.
4. Group influence on informant's consumption choices (e.g. brands and goods, issues, services).	4 cig.
5. What does collective consumption mean to the informant and group? Why is it important?	5 cig.

The questions in Table 4.2 addressed three main areas of interest to this study – the individual, the group, and consumption. Following on the data generated through interview questions, combined with data from participant observations, field notes and notes taken from Facebook posts, codes were used to identify themes for exploration. Excerpts from field notes relating to the prominent emergent themes are presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7). Table A6 (Appendix 6) summarises both codes created from the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3, and inductively derived codes from the textual data. Both types of codes are vital in identifying themes for discussion and the subsequent thesis' contribution.

Data reduction – a vital aspect of this research's analysis procedure - describes the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming textual data from interview transcriptions and field notes (Miles and Huberman 1994; Miles, Huberman and Saldana 2014). The code, on the other hand, refers to summative labels assigned to large chunks of interview transcripts and field notes during the first cycle of the coding process to reduce the data into easily manageable categories. These categories are then analysed during the second cycle where patterns are identified, categories and themes described and explanations contextualised (Miles and Huberman 1994; Miles, Huberman and Saldana (2014); Saldana 2013; 2015). The codes in Appendix 6 were created and categories employed to reduce the large textual data into manageable key areas comprising prominent emergent categories and themes for foraging tribal behaviour and further scrutiny in the context of the research questions. Table 4.3 shows prominent categories and themes that emerged from the data.

Table 4. 3: Prominent categories and themes

Codes characteristics	Categories	Themes
Tribal heritage consumption (e.g. tribal foods) Reciprocal gift exchange (emulating tribal ancestors) Collective consumption (e.g. of goats) Performing tribal roles (e.g. gender roles) Symbolic consumption (e.g. the dowry practice)	Re-enacting enchanted tribal past (manifesting through consumption) Displaying conformity to tribal customs (In search for belongingness) Tribal bonding (through collective consumption) Re-emergence of tribal social structures (Tribal Council of Elders) Tribal differentiation (by Public display of distinct tribal customs and perpetuated myths)	Affirming tribal identities
Collective re-creation and observance of tribal customs (with self-selected social connections) Communal consumption (to establish links with significant others) Longevity of connections (through regular rituals demonstrating commitment) Gender empowerment (e.g. embodiment of socially acceptable practices) Selective sociality Expressive loyalty to tribal identities and TCs Myths and perpetuation of amplified tribal differences Shared values	Self-organisation into single tribe assemblages Self-organisation into closely related tribe assemblages Self-organisation into gender-based tribal assemblages Self-organisation into pan-tribal assemblages	Tribes-constituted consumption assemblages
Tribal rituals' observance Public display of consumption practices (e.g. embodiment of tribal culture) Display of tribal customs (e.g. observance of dowry practice) Conspicuous display of achievements (tribal and modern)	Cultural capital Social capital Tribal meanings appropriation onto objects Expressive socially conditioned habits (e.g. adaptive dressing)	Boundary crossing

4.10 Ethical code of practice

This research complied with Open University's code of practice regarding validity and reliability in academic research. Ethics approval from Open University's HREC was sought and

granted before commencing fieldwork (Appendix 2). The research was based on respondent's free will to co-operate without any coercion, manipulation, or discrimination. The author explained the purpose of this study, its confidentiality, participant and informants rights – including their right to withdraw at any time without any obligation to explain their reasons (Appendix 3). Each informant's explicit consent was obtained before recording and keeping the information collected during interviews. No pressure on informants was exerted such as coaching or any such acts likely to introduce bias. Honesty and integrity were central to ensuring reality was an integral attribute of this research (Easterby-Smith et al. 2008). Table 4.4 summarises the fundamental ethical principles guiding this thesis.

Table 4. 4: Ethical principles followed in conducting research

Step	Principle	What was done in this research?
1	Ensuring no harm comes to participants.	I anonymised informants' names and their self-organised tribal gatherings of membership. Therefore, their comments, views and opinions are not identifiable to the actual informant's names but rather to the pseudonym given during anonymisation.
2	Respecting the dignity of research participants.	I acted in alignment with the application made to the Open University human research ethics committee (HREC), of which approval was given for this study (Appendix 2).
3	Ensuring a fully informed consent of research participants.	All informants were read and given a participant information sheet (Appendix 5) approved by Open University when the HREC approval was given for this study. Furthermore, all informants gave explicit consent after being read their rights (Appendix 3).
4	Protecting the privacy of research subjects.	I complied with the UK data protection Act 1998 and the Kenyan equivalent - the Kenya data protection Act 2012. This was further explained to all informants prior to their consent to interview.
5	Ensuring the confidentiality of research data.	Informants and their respective self-organised tribal gatherings were given pseudonyms. Recorded interviews were transcribed using Open University's approved transcription company whiles the original recordings were deleted as promised to the informants and in accordance with both UK and Kenya data protection Acts respectively.
6	Protecting the anonymity of individuals or organisations.	Pseudonyms were used to ensure informants and organisations' anonymity.
7	Avoiding deception about the nature or aims of the research.	All informants were read and given the participant information sheet (Appendix 5) explaining the purpose of the study and details of how their volunteered data will be used.
8	Declaration of affiliations, funding sources and conflicts of interest.	This research was partly funded by the author in the first year of study and the remainder was funded by the Open University.
9	Honesty and transparency in communicating about the research.	The author provided all informants with contact details about the sponsoring institution – The Open University at the time of fieldwork data collection; and the author's and supervision team's Open University contact details. Also, the themes explored during interviews are included in this chapter.
10	Avoidance of any misleading, or false reporting of research findings.	By following the steps above, guided by the original research questions and shaped by the back and forth interface with the data, the generated themes form pivotal findings regarding informants lived worlds - which are presented in this thesis as described by informants. Reflecting on authors' position while gathering, collecting, analysing and interpreting qualitative data is pivotal in pursuit of accuracy when describing informants' lived experiences (Hogg and Maclaran 2008). As pointed out by Bell, Bryman and Harley (2018), informants and participants in research are experts about their own lived lives and ought to be considered by those studying them as such. This study does exactly that – accurately reports what those who lived their lives in Kenyan tribal society, practised consumption of tribal and modern marketplace significant goods.

Source: Adapted from Easterby-Smith et al. (2008: 134)

Table 4.4 outlines the criteria underpinning my commitment to conduct research and report findings while abiding by generally accepted ethical practices that ensure validity and reliability whilst safeguarding participants' and informants' privacy. Given the subjective ontological stance underpinning this research, trustworthiness is an essential attribute for valid qualitative

research (Denzin and Lincoln 2008; Lincoln and Guba 1985). Unless a researcher can demonstrate compelling validity, authenticity, plausibility, and criticality in their research process, the findings can easily be perceived as untrustworthy (Denzin and Lincoln 2008, 2011). Consequently, this study followed rigorous and robust analytical processes accompanied by the author's reflection (section 4.12) to ensure that the reported findings are as authentic, plausible, credible, and robustly critical as possible.

4.11 Validity and reliability in qualitative research

Validity in qualitative research involves determining the degree to which the researchers' claims about knowledge correspond to the reality (or research informants' constructions of that reality) being studied (Eisner and Peshkin 1990). Broadly defined, the concept of validity relates to whether a given research question addresses what it is designed to address, extending to a measure of how well this is achieved (Creswell 2013; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). Validity typically encompasses how the research design is structured and the process followed in interpreting the data to determine the robustness of the conclusions drawn (Creswell 2013; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). This chapter has demonstrated the rigour followed by using generally accepted research approaches to understand informants' lived worlds. This chapter presents the methodology and includes a section reflecting on my role as a researcher. To the best of my knowledge, I have not only followed a suitable methodological approach to answer this thesis's research questions but also presented authentic lived worlds of the informants.

Regarding reliability, this research does not seek or claim generalisability. Reliability in research describes the degree to which a data collection method produces consistent findings that any other researcher using similar methods on the same data can get similar results (Easterby-Smith et al. 2008). Considering that this research is ontologically subjective, paradigmatically situated within Interpretive Consumer Research and epistemologically social constructivist, the author does not claim the findings will be generalisable to all tribal gatherings. Neither are the research findings necessarily expected to be replicable in all tribal societies around the world because every informant and researcher subjectively interprets their lived social phenomena, thus increasing the likelihood of diverse conclusions.

While acknowledging the subjectivity of phenomena interpretations in tribal societies, I also recognise the limitations associated with studies that do not emphasise reliability. Typically,

high research reliability is assumed to exist where similar results can be realised from the same findings under consistently similar contextual conditions (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2019). However, this is not necessarily expected of this study where the emphasis is on understanding subjectively interpreted social phenomena through rich data extraction from informants, while not essentially replicable with all human agents.

4.12 Research reflexivity

Reflexivity in research describes a process in which the researcher exercises self-awareness and at times is self-critiquing while reflecting on their impact on the research process (Finlay 2002). The researcher's reflection includes evaluation of their likely influence on the research process through their interactions with the participants, informants and the field (Butcher 2013; Hogg and Maclaran 2008). Reflexivity is an integral part of qualitative research that anticipates being taken seriously by their intended audience for being a credible, trustworthy and valid addition to knowledge (Denzin and Lincoln 2008; Hogg and Maclaran 2008). Achieving merit for a qualitative study requires trustworthiness, which Denzin and Lincoln (2008) claim can be realised if the researcher is able to demonstrate credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability. Thus, my reflection as a researcher is illuminated by insight from scholars such as Lincoln and Guba (1985); Golden-Biddle and Locke (1993); Hogg and Maclaran (2008); and Denzin and Lincoln (2008, 2011). These scholars opine that qualitative studies should persuade their audiences that knowledge emerging from their qualitative research is of merit through demonstration of the study's claim for plausibility, authenticity, validity and criticality. Detailed accounts of how data was collected in the field, the researcher's role in the process and challenges of fieldwork, including details of how these were mitigated, can help present qualitative findings as trustworthy – all aspects addressed in this thesis.

Golden-Biddle and Locke (1993) claim that plausibility, criticality and authenticity are essential to persuade qualitative research audiences that knowledge is deserving of merit. Plausibility is achieved by ensuring that as much information as possible is available when claiming a fit between the data collected and inferences and interpretations made. In this thesis, plausibility was achieved through the inclusion of as much information about and reflection on the research process as possible.

Authenticity is achieved when the researcher convinces the audience that all their interpretations emerge from data and that the researcher understood the lived world of the informants

and participants who provided that data (Butcher 2013; Hogg and Maclaran 2008; Lincoln and Guba 1985). The researcher should demonstrate that they fully understand the informants and participants in their research (Hogg and Maclaran 2008). Understanding the context of research context has emerged within consumer studies, particularly those leaning towards CCT, as pivotal in making informed understandings and explanations of consumer culture (Askegaard and Linnet 2011; Woermann 2017). In this thesis, authenticity was achieved because the author, being Kenyan by birth and belonging to the Kikuyu tribe, possesses intrinsic knowledge of Kenyan tribes and their cultures, tribal alliances, pan-tribal dynamics and the politics behind tribal identities in Kenya. Consequently, the author managed to see through tribal dynamics during the research process and understand potential nuances of subjectivity which risked swaying research findings' and interpretations. So, interpretations and conclusions made from this research's data are grounded in the lived worlds of tribal people, hence the use of informants' quotes and field notes gathered and analysed.

Criticality is achieved if the researcher can demonstrate that they took time to reflect and challenge their views and examine differences and their own biases (Denzin and Lincoln 2011; Golden-Biddle and Locke 1993; Hogg and Maclaran 2008; Kerrane 2017). In this thesis, criticality is demonstrated throughout the methodology chapter, the findings and by this reflectivity section.

4.12.1 Reflection on the author as an instrument for negotiating access to the field

Negotiating access to and successfully recruiting informants relies on establishing good relationships with potential subjects. A good relationship with informants is vital in planning data collection for research (Springwood and King 2001). The researcher should connect and establish rapport with informants to understand, accurately interpret and be able to describe the informants' culture and lived experiences to others (Fielding 1993; Lewis 2003), an aspect this author fulfilled. The author self-identifies as a Kenyan tribal male but acknowledges that having studied and worked in the diaspora for over 20 years, some new values and way of interpreting the worlds may have been inadvertently adopted. Yet, I still consider myself a Kikuyu, not just by birth but also through compliance to Kikuyu tribal customs such as rites of passage into adulthood. Furthermore, regardless of having lived outside Kenya's tribal society, I still strive to keep abreast with changes taking place in Kenya. Consequently, I consider myself knowledgeable about Kenyan culture, both past and present. This includes traditional tribal culture in the country.

Thus, prior knowledge of traditional tribes, nuances and tribal dynamics in Kenya allowed for an intensely focused three-month ethnographic study of selected gatherings to take place without compromising rigour. A three-month, physical space ethnographic study might seem short when compared to the usual in-depth, immersive living and working ethnography typical in anthropology studies (Wolcott 1999; Van Maanen 2011). However, compelling arguments have been made that it is not merely the length of time one spends in the physical field that determines the strength of an ethnographic study (Jeffrey and Troman 2004), but instead the intensity, rigour, and quality of the time spent with informants (Geertz 1973, 2003; Jeffrey and Troman 2004). If we accept that compelling ethnography rests on an ability to grasp, record, and adequately describe in-depth accounts of human groups in their natural cultural contexts (Atkinson 1990; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 2019), then we can conclude that a three-month intense and focused ethnography conducted by this author with a good understanding of informants' culture can be as compelling. The use of multiple data collection instruments also allowed for rigour and richness of data collected.

4.12.2 Reflection on negotiating access to self-organised tribal gatherings

Multiple data collection methods of participant observation (both physical and virtual) and interviews were used because they are the most aligned to this research's design. This section explains how access to tribal gatherings and informants was negotiated and carried out, what challenges were encountered, and how these challenges were mitigated. For purposes of confidentiality, all the gatherings and informants have been anonymised.

4.12.2.1 Reflection on identifying and accessing tribal gatherings for participant observation

Negotiating access to appropriate coalescences of tribal people and thus to the informants started in October 2016 with the identification of people with a self-affirmed tribal identity, resident in a tribal society and with voluntary membership to a TC. This purposive choice of informants aligns with the aim of this study.

The first contact with potential informants started when the author met a member of a Nairobi-based male-only TC (anonymised as G4). Aligned to suggestions by Lofland and Lofland (1984) and Lofland (1995) about starting where we are, this contact was influential in facilitating access to not only the G4, but also to others through snowballing. This and the subsequent rapport aided the creation of a research participant and informants' network through referrals,

leading to a snowballing recruitment of other informants and TCs. Even with this snowballing approach, the author evaluated each lead to ensure its appropriateness and the alignment to this study's aim.

The author also 'hung out' with selected informants after their respective TC events; for example, accompanying informants as they socialised in 'Nyama Choma joints'[18] .These events offered a relaxed environment not only to observe and record field notes, but also to clarify previously observed behaviours from TC events and the vetting of referrals.

To avoid interruptions during observations, the author recorded field notes in a notebook immediately after an observation. Some situations happened fast, hence the warranting of live recording to avoid reliance on memory. During these types of situations, the author's internet-enabled mobile phone was used to record field notes onto Open University's 'OneDrive'. The objective of live recording was to immediately capture lived experiences as they happened and the environment in which they took place in line with the context of contexts discussed earlier (Askegaard and Linnet 2011). Instant recording allowed the holistic capturing of what was happening at the time and the context within which the observation took place. This live recording allowed the author to review and re-live the event more vividly, informing follow-up interviews and, later, data analysis. This approach helped interpret the data in context. For example, fieldwork took place around the time Kenya was undergoing Presidential elections in 2017. Typically, Kenya's Presidential elections tends to heighten tribal solidarities where politicians exploit the situation to rally their tribal kin and gain support for a Presidential candidate they perceive would support their interests (Wrong and Williams 2009). This tendency also leads to the creation of political alliances on tribal bases. Historical tribal rivalries amplified by negative tribal identity stereotypes and the search for political supremacy have previously been considered the catalyst for Kenya's election related tribal violence (Njogu, Ngeta, and Wanjau 2010). In 2017, Kenya's Supreme Court annulled the Presidential election result, becoming the first country in Africa and the third in the world to annul a President elect (Macharia 2017; BBC 2017). The annulment was allegedly owing to election malpractices – although this allegation was contested by the political party and supporters of the winning President, President Uhuru Kenyatta (Macharia 2017; BBC 2017). The political context at the time of research

[18] 'Nyama Choma joints' are establishments where men and women from diverse cultures meet up to socialise while enjoying barbecued roast meat, Kenyan cuisine, drinks and music.

revealed disparities in what informants were willing to tell the author during recorded interviews and what they disclosed when the consented part of interview ended. Therefore, observation fieldnotes proofed useful when later comparing what informants from diverse tribal backgrounds said when they knew consented recording was taking place and what they revealed after the author stopped the recording.

Due to weak network signals in some areas, accessing OneDrive was sometimes impossible. In such situations, I recorded on my notebook. However, recording on my notebook was also challenging because I did not want my informants to get curious about what I was recording. Thus, sometimes recording was done away from the informants and participants.

4.12.2.2 Reflection on establishing rapport with informants

Building rapport with informants before commencing observation is both an accepted practice in ethnographic studies (Butcher 2013; Hammersley and Atkinson 1994; Lewis 2003) and essential for effective interviews (Creswell 2009; Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill 2019). Creating rapport ensures that both the researcher and informants are relaxed for ease of communication. This communication between researcher and informants can save the time taken to gather and collect data (Creswell 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson 1994; Lewis 2003; Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill 2019).

Establishing rapport with informants was enhanced by two key factors. The tribal background of the author and awareness of some aspects of the tribal cultures, such as tribal languages, enabled the faster establishment of rapport with key contacts and informants. Being 'one of them' owing to a shared Kenyan and tribal identity made it easier and quicker to gain informants' trust. Most probably, this assumed shared identity encouraged some informants to regularly invite the author to their tribal events and activities. These invitations enabled the author to assume a participatory role quickly and easily within the natural surroundings of the informants (Hammersley and Atkinson 1994). Familiarity with the Kenyan context also allowed the author to move around the country faster and to commence data collection straight away without having to spend a lot of time trying to understand the primary aspects of local tribal culture. However, this local knowledge and being seen by informants as one of them also presented challenges. For example, some informants questioned the author's intentions in participating in tribal activities for research purposes only, expecting the author to take a participatory role

rather than merely collecting data. Some also questioned the author's tribal loyalty in comparison to the research project. However, other informants were keen to participate as their tribal culture had attracted research interest. These latter informants showed this interest by inviting the author to other tribal events besides those organised by their TCs. Therefore, establishing rapport proved critical in negotiating access to TCs, informants and subsequently, data.

Second, as mentioned earlier, the author used personal contacts before commencing fieldwork data collection to facilitate access to tribal people with a membership to TCs. Consequently, contact with some informants was established telephonically up to six months before commencing fieldwork, thus further enhancing rapport. These contacts facilitated the initial rapport-building with others, allowing the author to access the everyday lived experiences of the informants more easily and allowing immersion into their natural setting. This enabled the author to see the world from the informants' perspectives as an 'insider' who was an accepted member (Adler and Adler 1987; Fielding 1993). Consistent with ethnographic studies, besides taking a participatory role (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995), the author was also able to identify and recruit informants for interviews. This combination of participant observations and interviews was consistent with this research's multi-method data collection approach, supported by Cova and Cova's (2002) recommended approach to consumer communities.

4.13 Conclusion

This chapter critically evaluated the research methodology considered appropriate to answer the research questions and address the aim of this thesis. It began by discussing the philosophical assumptions underpinning this research, situating the work paradigmatically within Interpretive Consumer Research. Social constructivism is established as the underlining author's epistemological stance, the research design is subsequently discussed in detail, addressing the research approach, strategy and methods used.

The chapter assessed the data collection methods used and evaluated their appropriateness in addressing the research aim and research questions. It identified previous consumer studies that have successfully followed the epistemological stance akin to the one used in this study, justifying their appropriateness. Potential challenges in employing multiple data collection methods and the mitigation for these challenges were identified. The chapter also discussed how the collected data was organised, displayed, analysed, and interpreted. A discussion on the ethical

principles underpinning this research project was then presented, followed by the author's reflection (as the researcher) in agreement with generally accepted qualitative research reflexivity to enhance credibility, trustworthiness and valid addition to knowledge (Denzin and Lincoln 2011; Finlay 2002; Hogg and Maclaran 2008).

Chapter 5: Affirming tribal identities within a modernising tribal society

5.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies and examines the key categories emerging from the analysed data (Chapter 4, Table 4.3), exploring their constituent parts whilst illustrating how these contribute towards the prominent theme of affirming tribal identities. The findings focus on informants' disclosures about their reasons for interpreting their lived worlds as tribal, and how their understandings of this influenced their choice of practices. Specifically, the chapter's discussion revolves around exploring why and how Kenyan tribes use consumption practices to affirm their tribal identities.

First, this chapter examines the informants' interpretation of their lived worlds and their reasons for claiming a tribal identity. Understanding this was necessary to comply with the Open University's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) approval granted before commencing fieldwork, and the participant information sheet. The author deemed it vital to first establish the informants' tribal identities early in the research process because the notion of the tribe is central to this thesis's research questions.

Second, this chapter presents findings on informants' use of consumption practices to express their tribal customs of a long-established past, thereby asserting and perpetuating what they disclosed as their tribal identities. Here, informants explained what, how, and why they partake in practices collectively believed in their society to represent their ancestral tribal past.

Finally, the chapter explores how informants negotiate their consumption practices to cater for their significant tribal interests while still embracing modern consumption practices, consequently concluding that affirmation of tribal identities happens through some aspects of informants' practices.

The findings in this chapter address the research question:

- how, why, and to what extent does a tribal society use consumption to affirm tribal identities? Furthermore, how do the key principles that underpin consumer tribes compare to a tribal society that consumes?

By focusing on the informants' lived experiences, the findings indicate that some aspects of traditional tribes' characteristics identified in Chapter 3 still exist in a modernising Kenya. Informants' disclosures also indicate that what they understand to constitute a tribal identity constitutes a myriad of interlocking and overlapping characteristics that are collectively constructed and perceived locally to legitimise the claim to a tribal identity. For example, possessing a tribal name is dependent on an informant's ancestors, which in the Kenyan context is typically associated with an ancestral tribal region. As this chapter shows, the link to an ancestral tribal region exposes the individual to distinct taken for the granted tribal conditioning, such as language and distinct customs.

5.2 Do tribes exist in modernising Kenya?

This section unpacks findings that support the existence of tribes in Kenya based upon informants' disclosures on why they believed in their tribal identities. This section revolves around the constituents of a tribal identity from informants' interpretations, such as a claim to a tribal identity by birth if one was born into a social group locally recognised by its members and others as a tribe.

5.2.1 Tribal identity as a taken for the granted birthright

All the informants identified themselves as a traditional tribe by birth and disclosed their participation in some aspects of re-enacting what they claimed represented their long-established tribal practices. In the Kenyan context, the name used to describe the social group called a tribe is also the name given to the mother-tongue language spoken. A few exceptions are the Mijikenda tribe (Willis and Gona 2013), the Kalenjin (Lynch 2011, 2016), and the new Government of Kenya-recognised 44th Asian tribe (Kenya Gazette 2017). The latter three groups consist of different sub-groups with their distinct mother-tongues but typically categorise themselves as one tribe due to other cultural similarities. To capture and provide an overview of how these interlinking themes work together, a detailed overview of the anonymised pseudonym informant - Jackeline, whose disclosures during an in-depth interview and non-participant observation typify views expressed by most of the other informants, is presented. Jackeline is a 25-year-old woman, born and bred in Nairobi who self-identifies with her Kikuyu tribal identity, by asserting that:

> *My ancestors were from Central*[19] *… I was brought up a Kikuyu…so like culturally I can speak the language and understand our culture…you know…like why we do what we do…eat Kikuyu foods and follow our customs.*

Jackeline appears to interpret her ancestors as Kikuyu by tribe based on a cultural-regional place of origin, an aspect she uses to warrant her self-identification as a Kikuyu. Her disclosure of a tribal identity based on cultural-regional criteria echoes extant literature reported by Kenyatta (1938/2015), Gulliver (1969b), Southall (1970), and Gluckman (2004, 2013). Her statement alludes to her interpretation of being a Kikuyu influencing her practices such as speaking a tribal language, possibly in consumption and in socialisation[20] as she discloses being brought up a Kikuyu. Jackeline's statement suggests that she interprets conformity to a tribal language and knowledge of tribal culture as indicative of one's legitimate claim to a tribal identity. This perception on her part appears to influence whom she chooses to socialise with. For example, responding to a probe on what being a Kikuyu in Nairobi City means to her, Jackeline explains her choices to gather and engage in activities with other Kikuyu while in Nairobi. Describing the gatherings and relationship she has with others sharing her Kikuyu identity, she reveals that:

> *All our members happen to have their roots in Central Kenya … we are all Kikuyu Women living in the City* [Nairobi]. *It is much easier to deal with a fellow Kikuyu than with another tribe … not that I am a tribalist* [stereotyping others based on tribe], *it's just the way it is.*

The gatherings Jackeline mentions in her statement will be revisited later in Chapter 6 when gender based tribal collectives are unpacked. Her comments above indicate the meaning she attaches to socialising with people from her Kikuyu tribe, regardless of the geographical region they find themselves in. It appears that she perceives socialising with tribal others vital for maintaining her tribal connections. Her claim that it is easier and more comfortable to establish connections with her Kikuyu tribal kin regardless of geographic separation from traditional tribal regions exposes potential motivations for coalescing with her significant tribal others. To

[19] Central Kenya is a term locally used to describe regions of Kenya from where one can see Mount Kenya. These regions are predominantly inhabited by the Bantu-speaking tribes of Kikuyu, Embu, Meru and Kamba tribes. However, administratively, the Kamba tribe region, Embu and Meru tribes lay under the Eastern province of Kenya.

[20] Socialisation here describes the learning process that people undergo and learn (often from others) how to behave in a way that is considered acceptable by members of a given society. It is often depicted in social sciences as a cultural process through which individuals progressively acquire a set of behaviours and social realities (Maccoby 2007; Yang, Kim, Laroche, and Lee 2014).

Jackeline, being born into a tribe and culturally conditioned into one appears to persuade her that cultural similarities enhances tribal harmony. It appears logical to conclude that her belief in being born into a Kikuyu tribe influences her evaluation of others based on tribal backgrounds, with a bias towards those sharing her own. Jackeline's statement exemplifies why and how tribal people in Kenyan stereotypically perpetuate tribal identities amongst discerning others, an aspect akin to postulations in literature, such as by Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango (2015). Even though Jackeline was probed to explain why she assumes it is easier to deal with her tribal kin, she could not support her claim further. She resignedly responded to the author's probe with a question that exposes her deeper taken for the granted presumptions *'…don't you think it's easier* [to deal with a Kikuyu being a Kikuyu]? *I just know it is…'.* This statement reveals her opinion on tribal kin that echo Kragh's (2016) claim of mutuality amongst people sharing family, clan, or tribal kinship, and where those closest to one's kin are characteristically evaluated favourably (discussed in Chapter three, sub-section 3.5.1).

Jackeline's disclosure about her upbringing enhancing her understanding of tribal culture reveals her 'doxa' as emergent from her habitus when within a tribal social field. Bourdieu (1977; 1984) and Goulding (2017) claim that doxa is produced when a human agent is conditioned within the habitus of a given social field. Doxa typically happens when a social group of people collectively socially construct specific rules that members accept (Bourdieu 1977, 1984). Chapter 3 discussed doxa in detail while Chapter 6 discusses how consumers collectively construct rules and norms within tribal collectives. Jackeline's understanding of her tribal identity exemplifies the implications because her acceptance of a tribal identity appears to subsume her enough to influence her actions even when in the City of Nairobi. Therefore, Jackeline's tribal identity markers represent a combination of ancestral connection to a tribal region; tribal language and cultural understanding that influences her practices. These markers echo extant literature's depiction of a tribe (Gluckman 2013; Gulliver 1969b; Kenyatta 1938, 2015) whiles her practices can reasonably be attributed to tribal habitus (Bourdieu 1977, 1988).

Another informant, Julia, a 26-year-old teacher and businesswoman based in Nairobi, states her claim to an Abaluhyia tribe because '*…I was born into a Luhyia* [Abaluhyia] *family so of course, I must be a Luhyia…I cannot be a Kikuyu or Kalenjin, I know my tribe…*'. Here, we see Julia distinguish her tribal identity from others, suggesting an ingroup and outgroup evaluation where tribal identities are avowed. Her assertion is indicative of likeness to Gulliver

(1969b) and Gluckman's (2013) ideas of tribes distinguishing themselves and being distinguishable from others.

Caleb, a 31-year-old man, born and brought up in Nairobi city, claims his Meru tribal identity by asserting that '*…what else would* [could] *I be other than a Meru when I was born a Meru? …Yeah…as you can see, I am a Meru'.* To Caleb, being born into a family with Meru tribe ancestral roots accords him the Meru tribal identity, even though he was born outside of the Meru region[21]. His perception of Meru tribal identity suggests that geographical region of where one is born does not necessarily diminish one's claim to ancestral tribal identity of origin. Even though he was born in Nairobi, Caleb does not adopt another tribal identity because his parents have ancestral roots in Meru. Therefore, his idea of what constitutes a Meru identity suggests he distinguishes himself from other people born in Nairobi. Caleb's views are collaborated by Bob, a 52-year-old married Kikuyu man. Bob also disclosed his opinion that being born in another region other than what is locally considered one's ancestral tribal region does not alter their ancestral tribal identity. He revealed that *'… my dad ended up in Nairobi* [because] *my granddad came here* [Nairobi] *to work for Mzungu* [a local term used to describe white people] *in the 1930s…and after some time my granddad settled here…so my dad was born here and never went back to Nyeri* [a region in Central Kenya]*…but I am no less a Kikuyu…*'. Here, Bob indicates that an ancestral Kikuyu background accords him the Kikuyu tribal identity regardless of where he was born. Thus, like Jackeline, Julia and Caleb - Bob claims a tribal identity as a birth right through ancestral roots. Statements from these informants typifies others in the study who perceive tribal identities as earned through ancestral roots.

5.2.2 Tribal identity by ancestral connections, language, and geographic region

Informants' statements in sub-section 5.2.1 offers insight that tribal identity by geographic region can sometimes be fluid and subsumed by other tribal aspects, such as by birthright. However, the cultural-regional criterion is still vital in some informants' self-description as tribal people.

In the Kenyan context, being born to parents with a distinct tribal language combined with ancestral origins to a geographic region where the language is considered the mother-tongue to natives of that region - accords one a tribal identity. By having a tribal identity as a birthright,

[21] The Meru region of Kenya is found on the Eastern slopes of Mount Kenya. The region gets its name from the Meru people of Kenya who speak the Ki-meru language and predominantly live in the region (KNBS 2009; OBG 2016).

certain customs and practices are also presumed of the person. For example, in the same sentence, some informants claimed a tribal identity by birthright, connection to a geographic tribal region, and practices associated with their avowed tribal identity. This tendency adds to an earlier interpretation that the informants' tribal identities are not based on a single straightforward characteristic but a combination of several aspects that are locally collectively perceived to constitute tribal identities (Section 3.6).

Like Jackeline, introduced earlier in sub-section 5.2.1, 19 of the 26 informants claimed their respective tribal identities through birthright but also overlapped this to a geographic region locally believed to be the tribe's ancestral origin. For example, Dom, a 28-year-old Nairobi based businessman, claims a Luo tribal identity because *'…my parents and grandparents are from Luo land*[22] *…it is therefore obvious that I am a Luo'*. Dom also accepts a Luo tribal identity because he sees traceable ancestral origin to Siaya region of Kenya, a region where the language mainly spoken by ancestral inhabitants is Dholuo. Dom also reveals his belief that specific names of people can be traced to regions locally understood as tribal regions for given tribes:

> *…of course, I am a Luo as you can tell from my name. My parents moved to Nairobi from Siaya and my grandparents still live there* [Siaya]. *I may not be as fluent as my grandparents* [in speaking Dholuo language] *but every time we went to Shag's* [Local slung for one's ancestral rural areas] *when we were little, dad made sure we spoke to granny in Dholuo.*

Although Dom was born and brought up in Nairobi, he maintains his connection to the Luo tribe because of his ancestral connections to Siaya. He discloses that some of his consumption practices - like some of the foods he chooses to eat - are considered locally to be the staple food for inhabitants of Siaya. Dom states that his preference for certain foods is because he believes these were the foods his ancestors used to eat. By consuming them, he honours and asserts his ancestral tribal identity:

[22] The Luo tribe predominantly inhabit the region of Nyanza province of Kenya, such as Siaya (Oxford Business Group 2016).

> *…as you know us Luo's we love 'Omena[23]' and Ugali[24] so when you guys are eating 'nyama choma' we eat fish* [laughs] *and when you listen to your 'Kamarus' and dance to 'mugithi'[25] we listen to our 'Jonny' and dance to 'Ohangla'[26]…it's just the way it is.*

We see from Dom's statement how the tribal identity is sometimes claimed through a combination of various aspects. His disclosure suggests that his belief in an ancestral tribal region of origin, alongside being born of parents from that region attracts him to adopt consumption practices he believes connects him to his ancestors. For example, *'…us Luo love Omena'* is a generalisation of an perception he holds because, in Kenya, it is widely known that fish and Ugali have been the staple food of people around Lake Victoria from a long-established past (Ogot 1967). Dom's disclosure typifies local stereotypes regarding tribal identities, where seemingly mundane practices are interpreted as distinguishing characteristics between tribes. This tendency of tribal stereotyping based on mundane practices is not unusual in Kenya, an aspect highlighted by Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango (2015) and Nevett and Perry (2001).
For example, besides the mother tongue language spoken by one's recent known ancestors (Heine and Mohling 1980), and region of one's ancestral origin (Kenyatta 1938/2015), there is also a general acceptance that certain types of food and styles of music are unique to given tribal backgrounds.

Dom's statement indicates the challenges in separating the various components of what he thinks constitutes his tribal identity. Dom also exposes the generally understood local opinions in his supposition that the author should know his tribe likes to eat Nyama Choma and listen to music by a famous local Kikuyu tribe musician who sung in the Kikuyu language [Kamaru]. He exposes a possible tribal rivalry when indicating his tribe's preference for music by 'Jonny' - whom he describes as a famous Luo musician – a choice he supposes is justifiable because other tribes also have their locally renowned musicians. From Dom's disclosed understanding of Kenyan tribes, it appears reasonable to conclude that a person's ancestral tribal connections can be identified and perpetuated through various mundane and observable choices such as the locally perceived tribal foods and music. This conclusion is consistent with a previous study

[23] Omena is a type of fish found in Kenya's Lake Victoria.
[24] Ugali is a type of meal made from maize/corn flour, similar to porridge.
[25] Mugithi is a dancing style locally associated with Kikuyu tribe while Kamaru was a popular Kikuyu musician who sang in Kikuyu language.
[26] Ohangla is a dancing style locally associated with Luo.

by Nevett and Perry (2001) that claimed Kenyan society's interpretation of advertising content is highly contingent of the advertiser's tribe, a phenomenon that supports depiction of Kenya as a tribal society. From Dom, we see how one's interpretation of their tribal background can influence their actions towards a myriad of practices locally discerned as legitimate tribal differentiators. His statements suggests that regardless of his city upbringing, the wider societal tribal narratives and stereotypes (Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango 2015) still influence how he distinguishes himself and others.

Dom's situation is analogous to Kate's. Like every other informant, Kate also identified herself by her tribe – in her case - a Kikuyu from Kiambu region of Kenya. Here, she combines her birthright to a geographic region. To Kate, Kiambu is *'…in Central Province* (of Kenya) *…and has always been Kikuyu land…although some parts are now being bought by whoever has money…*'. Kate's views reveal her presumption about a tribe's connection to a region but also recognises how modern realities are diminishing geographical region as an exclusive determinant of one's tribal identity. Kate also discloses that she likes to attend tribal events, like dowry negotiations, as her way of expressing what she believes to be her Kikuyu tribal identity.

In a dowry event attended by the author, the following fieldnotes suggest that Kate adapts when around people she wants to perceive her as compliant to tribal norms of dressing. Most of the adult women in this event wrap a sarong and Kate adapts her dressing style by also wrapping a sarong.

> *Kate invited me to her family friend's dowry negotiation ceremony in Kiambu, Kiamumbi area just adjacent to Nairobi county. This area, although considered an upcountry village by locals is just so close to Nairobi that many people commute to Nairobi for work and social events. It is well served with transport links. The event was attended by what I estimated to be around 300 people, both genders, adults and children. There is what is locally referred to as 'outside catering' whereby rather than the families involved cooking themselves, the use companies that provide foods as required. The cooked food is a mixture of traditional Kikuyu foods such as Irio,[27] Mukimo,[28] Njahi,[29] alongside what is locally seen as modern cuisine such as beef*

[27] Irio refers to a local dish made from mashed potatoes, maize, and peas or greens.
[28] Mukimo is the Kikuyu name describing cooked food made from mashed potatoes, green peas, pumpkin leaves and green maize.
[29] Njahi is the Kikuyu name for black beans with white stripes at the edge.

stew, chapati, rice and so on. Kate is observed eating Kikuyu traditional foods. Drinks are a mixture of unbranded and branded local and branded international such as coca-cola. Kate, who when we left Nairobi was dressed in a short dress, possibly designer brand, once in the rural… she now wraps a colourful sarong around her body like the other women here, covering her earlier exposed parts of her lower body. She mingles with others and converses mainly in Kikuyu…occasionally I note she chats with other younger people in mixture of Kiswahili and slang locally known as sheng. The gathering has a 'master of ceremony' [MC] who regularly uses a loudspeaker to announce what is happening at different stages of the gathering such as when food or drinks are being served. There is also a Kikuyu traditional dancing group which is occasionally called upon by the MC to entertain. They are dressed in what is locally considered Kikuyu traditional attire and sings in Kikuyu language with audience joining in. Occasionally women ululate as the tribal songs are collectively sung.

Fieldnotes, Kiambu, Kiamumbi, G2, Kate, July 2017

Adapting her dressing style to one like the other women attending this event indicates familiarity and conformity with these customs. It is reasonable to conclude that Kate wants to conform to a possibly habituated norm of what constitutes legitimate tribal dressing at such tribal events. This inference makes her behaviour like that which Bourdieu (1984) depicts as society's legitimisation of what constitutes good taste when within a given social field. It is reasonable to infer that tribal-compliant dressing and mannerisms accord Kate tribal cultural capital where participation in tribal practices expose one's knowledge of tribal customs. It also appears plausible to suppose that Kate's ability to converse in the Kikuyu language and Sheng when among different attendees at the dowry event enhances her socialisation and potential chances for acquiring social capital.

Kate's behaviour also suggests that there are times when she acts and possibly wants to display her tribal identity and other times when she acts and dresses in conventional modern fashion - hence indicating her integration into a modernising Kenya. Kate's behaviour can be explained by her style of dress, depending on the occasion. From an etic standpoint, Kate's tribal identity is thus not every time reality but rather occasion-dependent. Thus, Kate demonstrates tribal cultural capital and social capital by adapting her dressing practices to publicly display her

conformity to tribal dressing norms while also dressing and using Sheng language, common among Nairobi residents.

For Patrick, a 35-year-old Mombasa resident, a tribal identity is warranted because alongside having ancestral roots in Rift Valley Province of Kenya where Kalenjin language is predominantly spoken, he too can speak the language with an accent associated to native speakers of the language – the Kalenjin. Patrick asserts that *'...can you not tell I am a Kalenjin by the way I talk?* [it is common in Kenya for people from given regions to pronounce certain words uniquely, which is locally presumed that people with an accent must be from a given tribe]. Patrick continued to assert that '*…if my parents are Kalenjin then I am Kalenjin…period…I must be…. I speak the* [tribal] *language…it is my mother tongue, so I am'.* Patrick alludes to an additional distinguishing characteristic of his tribe – language and accent in addition to tribal by birth.

Callum, a 37-year-old Mombasa resident but originally from the Eastern province of Kenya, echoes the accepted claims of tribal identity by asserting that '*…even my name…you cannot have my name unless you are from Embu* [his tribe] *…it's all in our names'.* Callum goes on to disclose that he believes specific names are unique identifiers for people from his Embu tribe, distinguishing Embu tribe members from others. These quotes typify other informants who used aspects of distinctiveness to characterise their own tribal identities while using the same characteristics to distinguish themselves from other Kenyans.

Informants such as Kate, Dom, Patrick and Callum illustrate how the tribal identity is a combination of different aspects in one person rather than singular straightforward determinants. Informants' belief in their tribal identities influences some aspects of their consumption of tribal significant goods. Therefore, the next section delves deeper into informants' disclosed identities and their subsequent practices, an aspect considered vital in exploring and understanding how one's interpretation of their lived worlds influence their consumption.

5.3 Tribal identity's influence on practices

An interesting finding from informants' disclosures is how their understandings of tribal identities inspires them to engage in certain practices locally discerned as representing given Kenyan tribes. Like the disclosures from several other informants, (e.g. Jackeline, Dom and Kate), Ken, a post-graduate educated 43-year-old Nairobi resident, divulges his opinion on affirming

tribal identities through practices. He asserts his avowed identity and goes on to pursue practices that he interprets as affirming his Kikuyu tribal identity. Ken's allure to displaying his tribal identity by practices is captured in his assertion that '*…the tribe is also in the actions. To be a Kikuyu means you must show through your actions that you are one of us'.* Here, Ken exposes a presumption that one's tribal identity and conformity is decipherable through their practices, giving credence to the conclusion drawn in the preceding sub-section. Ken was explaining why he participates in Kikuyu traditional ritual practices, from the rites of passage into adulthood when he was 15 years old, to now his pursuit of elder status through association with other older men in ritual goat- sharing events.

Another striking finding is how the internet is being used in Kenya to perpetuate tribal customs. Practices locally considered to be tribal customs are propagated through virtual spaces as typified by the Penname 'Jack' (anonymised as Jack). Jack uses the Kikuyu Council of Elders (KCE) Facebook page to call on his/her tribal kin to return to their tribal customs. The post encourages young people to learn about their tribal customs:

> *I strongly support togetherness as Nyumba moja* [Kiswahili words meaning one house] but *let us remember that the societal ills that we are fighting are caused by a forgetfulness of those who gunnered for our independence* [and possibly reject western ideologies], *the struggles and the fight that made our country to be where it is today. History is forgotten, the bloodshed and pain that our freedom fighters went through is archived away…Did I not see a young man take a land he inherited from his late farther* [Father] *and sell it, then set off to the capital city? Sad! as I was taught "what you inherit, you pass on to your siblings with a better value than when you got it".*
>
> *Anyhow my point is that, the young generation of today is broken from the truths of the history of their father generation, and there enters a hyena that exploits the discord.*

Jack's comment suggests existence of a cultural-regional criterion to establish one's tribal background, echoing disclosures from other informants like Jackeline and Dom. This is captured in what Jack decries as selling of inherited ancestral land, an act blamed on a failure to follow tribal customs. To Jack, there is an ancestral land in his lived world that should never be sold, and anyone doing so is depicted as forgetting tribal customs; hence, the call for a return to Kikuyu traditions. Here, we see again an expectation that tribal norms should subsume the

individual – further perpetuating the importance of the tribe as a modern source of pride in one's identity. Furthermore, the post suggests the importance Jack sees in tribal customs and associated practices as indicators of one's conformity to their ancestral tribal identities. Jack's views are widely shared by others online and by way of corroborated disclosures from interviewed informants such as Ken and Musa.

Disclosures from Ken and Jack about demonstrating tribal identity through one's actions are corroborated by Musa, a 25-year-old University graduate. Musa indicates the importance of accompanying reciprocal acts for those with the brotherly relationship established through a revolving tribal ritual of eating together.

> *…as was handed down to us by [our] ancestor…so like when Elijah brings his imports, he lets us choose the best if they are interested…and this also goes to jobs, if a member hears of one [job] then you let us know first. This is an unwritten rule that all of us follow.*

From Musa's statement, we see the seemingly mundane act of eating together, when appropriated ancestral tribal significance of brotherhood, transcends into the everyday lives of the informant. Musa's statement shows that in his world, re-enactment of an ancestral tribal past is happening, and this influences relationships modern socialisation. The practice of reciprocal gift-exchange alluded in Musa's statement is discussed in sub-section 5.6.2 while details about Elijah are found in Appendix 8.

Informants' interpretation of their tribal identities also extends to how gender roles are performed, further indicating how affirmation of tribal identities happens through practices.
For example, Gemma, a 56-year-old married businesswoman, asserts that it is vital for tribal people to act in conformity to tribal norms, and so '*…a Kikuyu woman must play a role in the community, she lives in otherwise people might start talking…is she a witch?'*. Gemma's assertion is indicative of the suspicion her local community feels towards a woman in their neighbourhood who does not mix with others at community events, such as weddings and bereavement support as expected in her society. Her statement, besides divulging local myths about self-seclusion and witchcraft, further collaborates other informants such as Ken and Musa whose understanding of being tribal is interpreted by an individual's display of conformity. She further reveals potential social pressure one risks experiencing for non-conformity to taken

for the granted tribal roles. Such is the importance of conformity by practice that some informants indicated the importance of teaching tribal kin-required behaviours. For example, Kat, a 48-year-old senior executive with a Kenyan based Multi-National Corporation (MNC), reveals her opinion that young women should be taught tribal values because *' … how can you say you are one of us* [tribe] *if you don't even know how to behave* [as the tribe expects of a woman]…*'* and *'…those who leave [lose] their cultures are slaves*'. Kat's expose corroborates Gemma's on gender roles whilst further reinforcing the importance by citing a locally widely used phrase that depicts those who abandon their cultures as slaves. We see from Ken, Jack, Musa, Gemma and Kat that the pursuit of practices to demonstrates one's tribal identity spans to different ages, genders and happens in both physical and virtual spaces.

The inspiration to teach others towards tribal conformity disclosed by Kat is echoed by Kigu, a 44-year-old Nairobi born and bred businessman. Like the teaching of women tribal roles disclosed by Kat, Kigu does likewise for men. He reveals that teaching young men on tribal practices begins at an early age and includes accompanying their fathers and uncles during tribal events. For example, he divulges how when he gathers with other men, they are all encouraged to bring their sons to learn the traditional way of slaughtering a goat:

> *…the slaughtering of the goats is another thing that also brings the people together because we always insist that if you donate your goat be there early to slaughter it, because there are some people who do not know how to slaughter a goat, no fault of theirs, if nobody taught you, you won't know, so we tell them, look, here's a golden opportunity, come early…*

Kigu exemplifies an ordinary practice is perpetuated through teaching others to follow a long-established custom. The young men are thus taught which way of slaughtering an animal represents their tribe. The teaching of tribal values and encouraging others to demonstrate their tribal identities through practices agree with extant literature on tribal habituations (Bourdieu 1977; Kenyatta 1938; Mauss 2002). Kigu also highlights that different tribes have some different ways of slaughtering, and so suggesting that tribal differentiation can be made by observing practices.

> *…there is differences, there are differences in cultures, but for this particular one, I come from the Kikuyu community and there you slaughter it and clean it and the*

way you dissect the parts is very different, in some communities they do it very differently.

Another informant, Tom, disclosed that he was keen to conform to his Kikuyu tribal identity even when within pan-tribal gatherings:

> *…In the forest…some traditional men slaughter the goats, as is our African* [tribal] *culture, men usually don't cook but, on this occasion, young men are encouraged to be there early. They teach you how it is done, from slaughtering, preparing the parts that need to be roasted. So, it's a form of a ritual especially for us Kikuyu, eh, and you are encouraged to come with your male children, eh, just, just to pass on the tradition, eh, just to show them how everything is done.*

Tom's disclosed tribal gatherings takes place in a nearby forest to re-enact their collective imagination of how their ancestors used to socialise during gatherings of men, acted to define, establish tribal boundaries and demonstrate the tribe as an institution. According to old traditions, men would typically slaughter goats and drink traditional liquor as they discussed a myriad of issues (Kenyatta 1938). These gatherings were also used to teach young male children how to carry out certain significant tribal activities in society, which is suggestive of collective conditioning of gender roles. So, a seemingly mundane act, such as the slaughtering of a goat, is infused with meanings to show the right way to slaughter a goat, and the use of the different parts of the slaughtered animal as evidence of knowledge about one's traditions – akin to Bourdieu's cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Goulding 2018). The purpose of these coalesces is thus for re-enactment of tribal customs, unlike the consumer tribes discussed in Chapter 2.

As Tom discloses, the knowledge of tribal customs is encouraged to be passed on to male children to perpetuate traditions. Based on the choice of male elders to mentor other males, it is persuasive to suppose that tribal conditioning of what constitutes acceptable male behaviour happens here. Although Tom's tribe is Kikuyu, his disclosure suggests that other tribal traditions on gendered roles are shared across different tribes '*…as is our African culture, men usually don't cook but, on this occasion, young men are encouraged to be there early'.* Tom's depiction of gendered roles in African culture is consistent with extant literature on African tribes' division of roles based on gender. For example, division of labour based on gender among the Algerian tribes (Bourdieu 1977); Kikuyu tribal practices and distinct gender roles

(Kenyatta 1938, 1966, 2015); institutionalised gender roles among the Lozi tribes in Southern Africa (Gluckman 2017), and labour division among married women in Kenya (Musalia 2018). Thus, we can infer that by their practice, tribes manage to distinguish themselves from other's, and through conformity, they display their authenticity as tribal people.

From the informants' disclosures above, most informants broadly shared an understanding of legitimate tribal identities as being constituted of similar aspects, and re-creating what is collectively understood as tribal practices actively encouraged in modernising Kenya. Table 5.1 summarises the prominent reasons given by informants for believing in and affirming of tribal identities.

Table 5. 1: Prominent reasons for claiming a tribal identity

Select the reason for self-identifying as a tribal person	Example of informants disclosing this view
Being born into a tribal society and having a mother tongue language associated with a named tribe.	All 26 informants disclosed this when the completed the consent form and re-affirmed this during the interview.
Tribal names.	All 26 informants disclosed these at the interview.
Belief in ancestral connection to a social group described as a tribe.	All 26 informants disclosed this during interviews.
Practising tribal customs as evidence of tribal identity.	All 26 informants had at least two practices they disclosed that they engaged in to express their tribal identities.
Born in a region locally believed to be the tribal region for a named tribe.	20 out of 26 informants disclosed this during the interview.

Table 5.1's summary appears to align with depiction of a tribal person by Gulliver (1969b), and later Gluckman's (2004; 2013) that for one to qualify this description, they must first distinguish themselves as tribal and be distinguishable by others based on practices and customs attributed to a given tribe. Accordingly, by describing themselves to the author through their avowed tribal identities, the informants fulfil this notion of tribalism (Gluckman 2004, 2013; Gulliver 1969b).

The next section presents findings that delve deeper into informants' lived worlds, exploring how their shared belief in aspects of tribal identities amplifies tribal differences with others, whilst highlight tribal boundaries.

5.4 Tribal boundaries

Findings further shows that informants avowing to tribal identities shared a common tendency to distinguish their respective tribes and amplify differences from others, a bias characterised by statements from Paul, John, Julia, Caleb, Callum, and Patrick. For example, Paul and John openly stated their preference to socialise with their tribal kin as opposed to other tribes, inadvertently indicating their presumptions of existing boundaries based on tribal identities. As shown below, this tendency is in line with extant literature that depicts Kenya as a society with tribal stereotyping and perceived tribal boundaries (Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango 2015; Njogu, Ngeta, and Wanjau 2010).

Supporting this view is Paul, who describes himself as a 50 plus years old businessman with his ancestral roots in central Kenya. Not only does he self-identify by his Kikuyu tribal identity but further indicates his bias in choosing with whom he socialises. Paul states that:

> *...we mainly prefer to socialise with Kikuyu, especially those from Central Kenya ... we do not discriminate but it's easier to deal with fellow Kikuyu's or Meru tribes ... we have similar cultures so we get along better and we understand* [the] *meaning of* [ritual] *goat- eating among men.*

Paul's bias appears to be inspired by assumed differences between Kenyan's tribal backgrounds. For example, he alludes to preference for those sharing similar cultural practices to his, hence his supposition of ease for Kikuyu tribe socialising with the Meru tribes.

His reflection also typifies reasons given by other informants such as Jackeline, Joana, John and Ken, on their selective sociality with people from their tribe or those closely related to their tribes. Paul's belief in his tribal identity influences his choice of socialisation by preferring tribal kin from Central Kenya, a region locally presumed to be predominantly comprised of Kikuyu, Meru, and Embu tribes (Chapter 3). It appears logical to infer that the seemingly mundane practice of goat-eating with those Paul considers his significant others stands to amplify tribal boundaries while possibly offering social capital to those sharing the practice. His disclosure is vital because in Kenya, perceived tribal boundaries are not necessarily physical but cultural too. Such is the power of these tribal boundaries that a few studies have cited amplified tribal differences as the root cause of violent tribal rivalries in Kenya's national political contests (Njogu, Ngeta, and Wanjau 2010; Wrong and Williams 2009).

Paul's statement acknowledges tribal distinctiveness but also recognises the need to extend the boundaries to closely related tribes. This is a rather interesting disclosure that depicts culture as a unifying factor among closely related tribes, indicating the importance of cultural similarities to tribal harmony. His claim that *'... we do not discriminate against other tribes'*, is contradicted by his later assertion that it is easier to socialise with people sharing similar customs – further suggesting tribal identity by practices and inadvertent stereotyping.

Tribal harmony amongst one's tribal kin and closely-related tribes through cultural similarities indicates an 'ingroup' bias towards one's tribe, and thus alludes to possible 'outgroup' bias against those from different tribes. Accordingly, it appears reasonable to conclude that informants' understanding of tribal identities not only influences self-evaluation and subsequent practices but also how others are evaluated, and tribal boundaries established.

This is a significant finding that can be likened to Kragh's (2013) depiction of reciprocal distance depending on one's closeness to tribal kin (Sub-section 3.6.6).

Corroborating Paul's statement is John, a 62-year-old retired civil servant who asserts that:

> *We are not saying that you cannot* [participate in tribal events] *unless one of us* [Kikuyu] *no…but we are not going to change how we do our things here* [to accommodate other tribes]…*we speak Kikuyu while here and are not apologetic…we value* [our] *Kikuyu traditions, and some of our traditions are difficult to follow for outsiders…*

By this statement, John affirms his tribal identity while acknowledging the boundaries he perceives to exist between his tribe and others. He reveals the importance he attaches to tribal traditions as distinguishing characteristics of tribes. John echoes Jackeline, whom we saw earlier, suggesting that informants' preference for people closer to their tribal kin is not an isolated tendency. It appears that tribal identities subsume some informant's ability to evaluate others without considering their tribal traditions as distinguishing characteristics, hence amplifying tribal boundaries and perpetuating an ingroup way of thinking.

Paul and John's allusion to the claim that tribal kin or closely-related tribes sharing similar cultural interpretations get along better appears to ignore personality differences that could

potentially exist amongst individuals regardless of their tribal identities. Instead, their interpretation of ease in socialising with tribal kin is like Sahlin's (2011, 2013) mutuality of being and the *Ubuntu* spirit (Kinyanjui 2016) discussed earlier in Chapter Three, but in this case amongst tribal kin and closely-related tribes.

Furthermore, the presumption of a shared interpretation of tribal practices and meanings with one's tribal kin further perpetuates the myth of getting along with one's tribal kin and perpetuates establishment of tribal boundaries. This can conceivably be an illusion rooted in a presumed belief that shared tribal traditions grants ease of socialising. Thus, traditional tribes appear to possess the potential for establishing enduring relationships owing to a positive evaluation of one's tribal kin or closely related tribal kin sharing similar traditions.

In contrast to informants like Jackeline, John and Paul whose views recognised tribal boundaries, a few such as Ken, Tom, Alfred and Matt expressed a willingness to cross tribal boundaries and embrace pan-national level tribal socialisation. This phenomenon of pan-national level tribal socialisation will be revisited and unpacked in Chapter 6.
Backing this view is Kigu, who acknowledges his Kikuyu tribal distinctiveness but also comments that to him:

> … *money doesn't know your tribe, it doesn't know your gender, it doesn't know your religion, so if it's a business opportunity, that already is a unifying factor for many people,* [regardless of tribe and gender. Therefore…] *we can look for business here* [regardless].

Kigu's comment is interesting because it suggests fluidity of tribal allegiance where economic capital is sought. He recognises the need to transcend tribal boundaries where social and economic capital subsumes tribal boundaries, even though the uniqueness of each tribe's identity is not disputed. What stands out from his comment is that within modernising Kenya, the pursuit of economic capital bonds tribes together and can even transcend gender differences.

Echoing Kigu is Ken, who commented on his motivation to transcend tribal boundaries in his interactions with others while in Nairobi. Ken emphasises his Kikuyu identity yet indicates his acceptance for socialising with other tribes:

> *…I am from the Kikuyu tribe, which I think is one of the major tribes in Kenya and…apart from that some of us have interacted with different tribes in* [at] *school in one way or another, the university, and then even outside…after graduation we have people you have met outside the school life, maybe you have trained together. So I think I've been able to get through that* [tribalism] *which helps with the cohesion of the group…but we still plan things to do with what the character was doing in the past, so there is also what is called 'Mburi ya Kiama'*[30] *that is different from the informal one* [for socialising rather than customary], *that is now where* [Mburi ya Kiama] *the elderly will train you on what the Kikuyu culture was doing in the past. So when you are still in that group if they accept you [Kikuyu elders] then you will now graduate to the Kikuyu elderhood…but this one* [at G7] *is different even though we follow similar approach out of respect of our culture* [ancestral culture].

Ken was responding to author's probing about his self-description as a Kikuyu in a society where other tribes existed. Like Kigu, his explanation offers a different perspective to Jackeline and Paul's, who appeared biased towards fellow tribal kin. Taken together, these informants reveal existence of tribal distinction in Kenya but also they acknowledge a willingness to adapt dependent on the type of capital sought.

5.5 Tribes as an institution – the tribal council of elders

Turning now to social structures, the findings indicate that Kenyan society has thriving tribal institutions. This section adds to the preceding one by illustrating how Kenyan society affirms their tribal identities by focusing on socially constructed institutions that act as custodians of their respective tribes' culture. A prominent tribal institution that emerges from the data is the tribal Council of Elders (hereafter CoE), which is given special attention here for its vital influence on Kenyan's tribal identities. All the tribes represented in this study have a CoE, a related website, and a social media account, such as Facebook, associated with a distinct Kenyan tribe. An example from the Kikuyu CoE is used here to illustrate the importance of social structures in perpetuating affirmation of tribal identities in modernising Kenya.

[30] This is a custom among the Kikuyu tribe where adult males wishing to be welcomed into the Kikuyu Council of Elders for acceptance into their assembly through the donation of a ritual goat appropriated tribal significant meanings of holiness (Kenyatta 1938). This goat is different from those provided for ordinary consumption during socialisation.

The Kikuyu Council of Elders (hereafter KCE) is an institution recognised by the Kenyan government through its membership to the government-registered Kenya National Council of Elders.[31] The Kenya National Council of Elders is an umbrella institution recognised by Kenya's Sports and Heritage Ministry (n.d) as the legitimate representative of Kenyan tribes' CoE. KCE is not only an online platform (i.e. a website, blog, and Facebook pages) but also recently opened a physical space – a Kikuyu tribe's cultural centre – in the Ruaka area in Nairobi (KCE 2019). By following the KCE website, blogs, and Facebook pages, the perpetuation of tribal narratives surrounding Kikuyu cultural practices emerges as a prominent aspect that feeds into the theme on affirming tribal identities. Thus, findings from online sources appears to complement the conclusions drawn from preceding sections regarding the informants' affirmation of tribal identities. Specifically, this section shows how tribal institutions perpetuate affirmation of tribal identities that subsequently partially amplifies the tribal boundaries that exist between tribes based on distinct cultural practices.

For example, many posts on the KCE Facebook page call for a return to a long-established Kikuyu tribal way of living when tribal elders acted as the custodians of tribal culture and arbitrators of matters about what constitutes acceptable tribal norms. The excerpt below taken from KCE online platform highlights the perpetuation of tribal narratives of a long-established tribal past:

> *As a people, we must accept that over the centuries before independence and after and up to this day and age, "Africa is broadly organized on tribal basis." It is only natural, therefore that, like many other human grouping (families, clans, etc.), we can seek to utilize our positive virtues through communal unity so that our voice can be heard and respected when other communities and the world refer to us as a people and as a community…The single most viable and powerful tool to achieve this is the use of positive aspects of our culture, applied in tandem with modern religious faith and morally acceptable way of life…*
>
> **KCE website, August 2017.**

This online excerpt highlights several points, but two stand out prominently for their relevance in understanding the tension between maintaining an imagined tribal identity with the realities

[31] The Kenya National Council of Elders is an umbrella organisation representing different CoEs from different Kenyan tribes.

of modernising Kenya. First, the excerpt highlights the writer's opinion regarding the wider society's awareness of the need to coalesce alongside Kikuyu tribal others. This unity among tribal others is depicted as an assumed tendency among African tribes. To the writer, the absence of unity is depicted as a reason for the tribes' voice not being heard '…the world over'. Thus, perpetuating tribal identities online consequently emerges as a pivotal focus for this blogger, thereby revealing pride in the bloggers' tribal identity. However, given that the website represents the Kikuyu tribe, it is logical to conclude that this call is mainly targeting members of the Kikuyu tribe, partially amplifying Kikuyu boundaries against others while still suggesting acceptance of some aspects of modernity.

Second, tribal culture is depicted as an essential aspect for perpetuating the tribe's way of life and as a solution to the changing society due to moral and religious influences. The use of an online platform, such as the one from where this post was gathered, indicates an attempt to being heard by adding a tribal voice to the '…world over'. The KCE platform acts as an institution for perpetuating tribal values. Further, this blogger depicts the KCE as an essential authority of Kikuyu tribal culture. For instance, the KCE website claims that '…*the most important aspect is the Council of Elders (Thingira), who are the custodians, living archives and libraries, the human face of the Kikuyu community and its history'* (KCE 2018). Thus, this blogger depicts the KCE as a necessary institution that partially contributes to maintaining Kikuyu tribal culture. According to the claim made on this website about KCE's role among the Kikuyu tribe, it is reasonable to conclude that the KCE is a social institution that helps structure the Kikuyu on matters relating to their tribal culture within a modernising changing society.

Generally, society is depicted as having structures that help maintain social order through organised systems of conditioning (Bourdieu 1977). Social structures can evolve to become institutional structures of power exercised over others by a few human agents (Giddens 1979, 1984). It appears that the KCE acts as an organised social system that perpetuates Kikuyu tribal customs, further indicating the importance a tribal identity holds for Kenyan society, even as the country experiences modernisation.

Alongside the KCE website and related Facebook pages analysed, the findings indicate that all the other tribes represented in this study (by way of the informants interviewed and online

spaces researched) have a tribal CoE. Also, each of these tribes have at least one online platform, such as a Facebook page or a website, claiming to represent the tribe's CoE (see Table 5.2). These institutions and their online presence indicate the essential role elders play in perpetuating tribal customs - and by and large, an indication of tribal institutions that help maintain Kenya as a tribal society.

Table 5. 2: Tribal Council of Elders and Facebook pages representing tribes in this study

Tribe	Tribal Council of Elders
Abaluhya (Luhya tribe)	Luhya Council of Elders Luhya forum Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/The-Luhya-Forum-540415686003873/
Embu	Embu Council of Elders: https://www.facebook.com/Embu-Council-Of-Elders
Kalenjin	Kalenjin Council of Elders Kalenjin forum Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/groups/543281239089188/
Kamba	Kamba Council of Elders https://www.facebook.com/Kamba-Council-Of-Elders-On-FB-1783205045263862/
Kikuyu	Kikuyu Council of Elders https://kce.co.ke https://en-gb.facebook.com/KikuyuCouncilOfElders/
Luo	Luo Council of Elders https://www.facebook.com/The-Luo-Nation-167700096719662/
Meru	Njuri Ncheke Elders (no known website at the time of this study for the Meru Council of Elders – but there is a Facebook page that claims to represent the Meru tribe - https://www.facebook.com/theamerucan/ and one claiming to be dedicated to maintaining the Meru culture - http://www.ameru.co.ke/)

The Kalenjin, Kamba, Kikuyu, Luhya, and Luo affiliated online activities were more prominently active than the Embu and Meru online platforms. These five tribes constitute the largest tribes by number in Kenya (KNBS 2009, 2019) and so likely also have more of their members active online. Among these online platforms, online conversations varied, with some posts explicitly calling for tribal solidarity against perceived rival tribes such as when discussing political and socio-cultural issues. Specifically, Facebook pages claiming to represent the Luo Council of Elders (hereafter LCE); the KCE and the Abaluhya Council of Elders exhibited this tendency. Here some Facebook posts explicitly condemned people from their tribe deemed to engage in what the writers depict as non-tribal social behaviours. One such post is from Kam (anonymised online penname):

> *Let us bring in as many of our Kikuyu members as possible to the council* [Kikuyu Council of Elders]. *So, they get to know the true thing. Then they will be set free. Their decisions would be wise and with a lot of wisdom. Our young and even old generations are getting lost. Mainly for not knowing the way forward. It is why gays and lesbians are having a space in our community. Let Kenyan say No to gays. We are a holy nation.*

Kam's post indicates intolerance for people from his/her tribe presumed to have adopted behaviours foreign to the Kikuyu tribal culture. Thus, Kam positions the KCE at a higher moral ground than those alleged to be 'lost' due to their choices. Kam's post further suggests that those he/she thinks are lost can be redeemed and welcome back to the tribe by the KCE. This suggests that he/she not only accepts KCE as a legitimate custodian of Kikuyu values but is also willing to use an online platform to perpetuate affirmation of a Kikuyu tribal identity. Therefore, like most informants interviewed, Kam expresses support for affirming tribal identities. Furthermore, Kam's post exposes a social structure that subsumes individual moral choices – the KCE. It is fair to infer from this post that Kam considers an individual tribal persona as subservient to the KCE social structure, and so the broader tribe subsumes the individual. This KCE is a socially-constructed structure within the Kikuyu tribe where older men apportion themselves the role of custodians of tribal culture (KCE 2018).

Developing this sense of right versus wrong, traditional versus the modern, is a KCE post that echoes Kam's by criticising gay relationships and depicting the practice as non-tribal:

> *…house of Mumbi* [referring to Children of 'Mumbi' – Kikuyu's ancestral mother], *a man should not have sexual relations with another man, nor should a woman have sexual relations with another woman. In our culture, such homosexuality and gay relationships are a taboo and so the judges were wrong to recognise the rights of gay groups in our country.*
>
> **(Excerpt taken from the official KCE Facebook page in March 2019).**

This post attracted many reactionary posts, mainly in support of their view as typified by 'Eddie' (pen name - anonymised) who asserts that *'…Democracy my foot we need tyrannical leaders like Museveni* [possibly referring to Uganda's president] *homosexuality is nonsense and should* [should] *not be allowed…'*. However, the post exposes the difficulties some people find

in accepting modern values that conflict with traditional tribal values. Furthermore, Eddie's post typifies the intolerance displayed online towards anyone presumed to adopt practices considered different from the broader tribal customs – even when such practices are personal. This subjugation of the individual tribal person when face to face with the broader tribe further suggests that the tribe subsumes the individual.

It is acceptable to infer that the tribe subsumes the individual. Thus, we can suppose that social structures like the KCE accord those holding social position within them powerful custodianship of tribal customs. Some supporters of KCE interpret individual behaviours through a tribal lens and judge them as either compliant or non-compliant to tribal standards. In this line of reasoning, the KCE is a social instrument of power over the tribe with the capacity to influence the tribe's practices. With modern technology, such as Facebook, the same platform used by Sam to air his//her views, the KCE is also exposed to comments critiquing its relevance. For example, whereas Kam's post typifies others made on the KCE Facebook page, sharing a similar theme that suggests the existence of what the writers depict as acceptable, legitimate Kikuyu values, some were critical (as will be shown later).

5.6 Re-enacting the tribal past through consumption

A recurrent theme in the interviews and observations is that consumption plays a vital role in informants' display of their tribal identities. In this final part of how and why informants affirm their tribal identities, consumption is given particular attention due to its relevance to a modernising tribal society. Having established in the preceding sections how informants interpreted their tribal identities and why they considered certain practices to be associated with their avowed traditional tribes, this section focuses on how consumption is used to affirm tribal identities. This section is discussed separately from tribal identity's influence on practices (section 5.3) for two reasons. First, the author considers it vital to present the informants' reasons for claiming a tribal identity following the interpretive nature of this study (Figure 4.1). Presenting the informants' views, opinions, and understanding of their self-disclosed identities gives them a voice in telling their own story (Section 5.1). Second, this thesis' research questions revolve around consumption.

By focusing on affirmation of tribal identities through consumption, this section helps reveal for exploration how consumption by traditional tribes compares to consumer tribes.

This section builds upon the preceding ones, which indicated that tribes still exist in Kenya and that they assert their presence in physical and virtual spaces.

Figure 5.1 summarises the preceding section's conclusion that tribal identities are affirmed through practices.

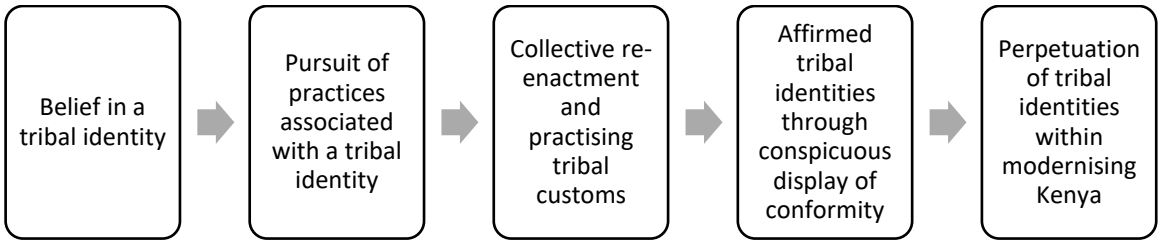

Figure 5. 1: Affirmation of tribal identities through practices

Source: Author (2019).

Informants who avowed their tribal identities indicated that they either participated or were willing to participate in practices that affirmed and perpetuated their tribal identities. The following prominent practices emerging from data are listed below and unpacked in the following sub-sections:

- Re-enactment and consumption practices relating to tribal heritage;
- Reciprocal gift-exchanges;
- Tribal bonding through collective consumption;
- Dowry practice; and
- Gender roles.

5.6.1 Tribal heritage consumption

The author defines tribal heritage consumption as the informants' symbolic and normative consumption practices associated with a given real, perceived, or imagined tribal heritage. Thus, this term draws upon informants' consumption practices observed during participant observations and in-depth interviews. Informants' narratives indicate that certain aspects of their consumption practices took place because of what they symbolised to their attested significant tribal others. An example is Joana, Matt, and John, who disclosed their beliefs that partaking in tribal dowry practice makes a man worthy of respect among other discerning tribal men. One

example of tribal heritage consumption is Joana, a 34-year-old married Kikuyu woman who works as a teacher in Thika town. To her, such is the importance of keeping tribal heritage alive that she and her husband cannot receive dowry unless her husband has fulfilled this custom for her. She reveals this in asserting that *'…our children are now getting older and soon we will be us to receive* [dowry ritual for their children] *and as is our culture we can't receive unless my husband has done it for me'.* Joana's desire to support her husband in fulfilling tribal dowry requirements perpetuates Kikuyu tribal heritage, which she alludes she will expect of her teenage children when the time comes for them to get married. She further discloses that she does not want *'…to be judged as one who rejects* [her] *tribal roots'*, thus exposing part of her motivation towards her tribal heritage.

For Matt, tribal heritage consumption was publicly displayed during dowry for his wife, making the village and his future parents-in-law know that *'…I [he is] am well qualified to look after their daughter and so earn honour from friends and* [among other] *men'*. We shall return to dowry later in this section. For informants like Joana, Matt, and John, dowry is a vital part of Kikuyu heritage and displaying their conformity earns them recognition amongst discerning others. Informants, such as Dom, Jackeline and Paul, indicated that they prefer certain types of foods that they believe represent their tribal heritage. For example, returning to Dom, *Omena* fish and *Ugali* represent his Luo heritage, while for Paul, certain types of vegetables, such as *Matharu*, represents his Kikuyu heritage. We shall return to Paul below. Besides the eating of certain types of food to show one's tribal heritage (e.g. Dom and Paul), or dressing up to display conformity to tribal norms (e.g. Jackeline), other informants engaged in a public display of their tribal heritage through the collective re-enactment of reciprocal sharing of animals. This is typified by Ken, who participates in collective sharing of goats with others, interpreting this as capable of establishing links like his tribal ancestors used to do to connect with others through social events. Ken states that '*…the goat is an African thing, in the Kenyan's tradition, a goat is taken as a very serious…an issue when people are sharing, so if you hear there is a* mbuzi [a goat sharing event], *by people you know, you want to attend, and then, here African men like socialising when they're sharing that goat as our ancestors used to do'.* To Ken, this practice symbolises the observance of ancestral norms while searching for social capital acquisition among discerning others. Therefore, to Ken, attending tribal practice re-enactment events enhances socialisation and a sense of tribal belonging among those sharing similar views. His disclosure is similar to Bob's, a 52-year-old married Kikuyu man. Bob states that *'…when we talk about a goat eating in Kikuyu way, it's a special day…if a visitor comes to your place then*

you slaughter a goat, that's considered a sign of honour. So, to signify the honour among ourselves…we rotate who donates and sponsors the goat eating'. Bob was explaining why he participates in a long-established tradition where men donate a goat for collective sharing with others in revolving reciprocity. A normal practice of eating goats together is infused with tribal heritage meanings, making the practice a suitable representation of tribal heritage in modernising Kenya. Bob also discloses the challenges that are sometimes encountered in re-enacting his Kikuyu tribal practices while in Nairobi *'…I told you earlier, we normally buy a live goat and we bring the goat to the one who prepares with the assistance of the hotel, but literally we normally prepare ourselves…'.* Unlike in the past where his ancestors used to slaughter, inspect, and share the goat under a tree (Kenyatta 1938), Bob and his significant others now meet in a city hotel where the goat must be inspected by a government public health officer. However, this is a challenge for those interested in keeping tribal practices relevant today. Bob states that *'…people from Central Kenya have this* [revolving goat eating]*…you know, even our grandfathers and our fathers* [when] *they used to meet together, they would eat together and then they talk about maybe, the problems in their marriage, they used to share about what's going on in the community'.* Therefore, Bob sees a need to consume with others what represents his Kikuyu tribal practices while similarly alluding to the social benefit of sharing problems.

Bob also discloses that conformity facilitates access to support from others. For example, when his brother passed on and when he wanted support to pay a dowry for his wife, '*…those we share* mbuzi *with stepped in to help* [me] *as is our* [Kikuyu] *custom'.* Bob's display of tribal customs' conformity earns him social capital, which he calls upon when in need of support from his networks. The goat is merely a mundane object that symbolises tribal heritage and helps establish social networks with discerning others. Yet, the same seemingly mundane goat has consequences about how relationships are formed and maintained.

The consumption of ordinary objects to symbolise tribal heritage is also evident in Paul's disclosures. Paul indicates that even the seemingly mundane acts - such as the food eaten – can easily be appropriated tribal meanings to suit different occasions.
His comment below shows a re-creation of tribal heritage through the collective consumption of significant tribal foods as a means of honouring their ancestors:

> *You see us here together not because we don't have homes … but we want to share together our Kikuyu ways* [of life] *like our ancestors used to* [heritage] *… I am a*

> *wealthy man and can eat whatever I want* [both local and foreign cuisine]*... but I choose Kikuyu foods when I am here* [collectively sharing with tribal kin] *... besides this goat... we also eat the likes of 'matharu', 'managu', 'terere', 'nduma' and so on* [these are types of vegetables, while the 'Nduma' is a tuber similar to sweet potato, foods that are predominantly grown in Kenya's central province, previously known as the 'white highlands' during the colonial era] *... that what's brings us together...to remember our* [tribal] *roots.*

Paul's comment implies how he negotiates his tribal past against the successes of modernising Kenya. Although Paul describes himself as a wealthy man who can eat whatever he chooses, his motivation is to share with his significant tribal others the locally perceived Kikuyu tribal food. This act highlights two essential points relevant to this thesis. First, his statement suggests liminality in transition. While his avowed wealth means he can choose to eat whatever he chooses - modern or traditional tribal - he still chooses to coalesce with others who share a mutual interest in recreating tribal cuisine historically associated with his ancestral tribal past. Furthermore, Paul appears to like being recognised by tribal others when partaking in tribal consumption, hence the attraction to coalesce with others sharing a similar passion for their tribal heritage. It is fair to infer that recreating and collectively sharing ordinary tribal foods with others gives Paul some form of tribal cultural capital. Paul's behaviour echoes others, including Sam and Jack. Traditional tribes in modernising Kenya tend to promote a return to tribal roots through various means of consumption.

Second, Paul's comment suggests that collective sharing links tribal people together when confronted with modernisation. Here, Paul indicates that he coalesces with others not because of the absence of respective homes to consume the same, but rather to collectively share their mutual passion for tribal heritage. Hence, Paul's suggests that he is involved in a collective re-enactment of an enchanted tribal past, an arguably mutually shared passion – the mutuality of being. This finding is akin to Sahlins' (2011) observation and characterisation of traditional tribes, that of a belief among tribal people of mutuality of being.

Paul also infers that he may be attracted to sharing meaningful tribal foods with those he self-selects because he achieves a sense of mutuality. Here, we see consumption being used not just to assert and affirm tribal identity, but also as a linking value with others in the group sharing a similar passion for Paul's tribal heritage. However, the food he describes as 'Kikuyu foods'

are made from conventional sources that anybody could access and consume. Despite this, Paul - like many other informants - supposes that there are certain types of foods that belong to his tribe. By joining with others to recreate the imagined tribal cuisine, Paul believes he is asserting his Kikuyu tribal identity. Therefore, Paul exemplifies the embeddedness of tribal cultural practices within the tribal assemblage, where members are drawn together initially by a shared passion for re-enacting the imaginations of their tribal past. Thus, the consumption practices for what informants believe to be their tribal heritage further reinforces the earlier inference that Kenyan society identifies herself based on tribal identities, and subsequently perpetuate their identities through consumption. Chapter six unpacks tribal collectives.

The practice of consuming what informants depict as their tribal heritage captures two important points pertinent to this research. First, these consumption practices reveal that long-established tribal customs of the past continue to be relevant to some people today as a collectively negotiated consumption symbolism. Hence, through the re-enactment of traditional tribal customs and re-asserting imagined tribal identities, informants establish links with their significant others, while achieving validation from significant tribal others for their conformity to tribal practices. Second, the findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the evolving characteristics of traditional tribes within a society experiencing encroaching modernisation. Here, we see informants such as Bob and those with whom he re-enacts the tribal past adapting to a modern context while retaining tribal symbolism.

5.6.2 Reciprocal gift-giving practice to affirm tribal identities

This sub-section develops further what has been revealed from the preceding sub-section, but with emphasis on the practice of reciprocal gift exchange to affirm tribal identities. Most informants indicated that reciprocity was expected of everyone within the tribe, demonstrating one's togetherness with others, akin to the African *Ubuntu* spirit (Kinyanjui 2016; Mabovula 2011). The findings revealed that reciprocity in giving is an essential characteristic of informants' tribes helping to maintain social order and relationships through a never-ending revolving reciprocity obligation. The one who gives to others - although they do not overtly ask to be given in return - nevertheless expects the recipient to reciprocate in line with *Ubuntu* spirit, a collectively shared as a taken for the granted rule. Ken exemplifies this when he states that:

...you don't want to be the one everyone talks about...you like to eat others' goats but you don't give back...are you not man enough?...so here we give,

and for over ten years now, we have always met at least once every month to eat what one of us has given freely.

Like Mauss's (2002) Kula ring, among some Kenyan tribes, such as Ken's, breaking the chain of reciprocal goat giving risks losing one's reputation among other tribal members. Bob echoes this supposition of reciprocity in giving as a customarily expected practice among tribal members. Bob reveals that for the ten years he had been assembling alongside his tribal kin while away from his tribal village, he noticed that every month a member volunteered to sponsor their monthly tribal gathering as he would expect to happen in his tribal village. In reflection, Bob disclosed that reciprocity in giving is part of his tribe's long-established past, although presently re-enacted within a city away from his ancestral tribal area. His comment below typifies what most other informants, such as Caleb, Charity, Kigu, Nancy, Paul and John, also said about reciprocal giving:

*I can say…[*for] *people from Central Kenya* [mainly Kikuyu, Meru and Embu tribes], *you know, our grandfathers and our fathers…used to meet together* [and] *eat together and then they talk about maybe the problems in their marriage, they used to share about what's going on in the community, and as I told you earlier* [as] *one of our own… when we talk about goat eating in Kikuyu way, it's a special day, even a visitor, if a visitor comes to your place then you slaughter a goat, that's considered a sign of honour. So to signify the honour of members…and among ourselves…you see I have been a member* [of an assemblage of tribal people) *for 14 years now, we have never missed someone* [from this assembl*age] to donate a goat…it becomes revo*lving [giv*ing] because…once you have eaten someone else's donation you also feel like…you must giv*e…you [a group mem*ber] can't just be coming to eat others donation and never give…it's not our culture…and you don't want people to start talking.*

Bob's happiness in maintaining membership to his tribal assembly for over ten years is attributed to tribal members respecting the tribal custom of collective sharing and reciprocity. Bob's participation in the re-creation of what is collectively shared as a representation of authentic tribal ancestors' way of life - such as through their collective sharing and reciprocity in giving - ensures that he is recognised as a committed member of the tribe. This is captured in his assertion that sharing and reciprocity, while not openly demanded of a member, is implicit in that sponsoring a sitting signifies the honour of members. Therefore, compliance can be

interpreted as a search for recognition from significant tribal others, like a search for tribal cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977; Goulding 2017).

Bob's comment also implies that no one wants to dishonour their fellow tribal kin, especially having enjoyed their gifts, primarily because among tribes, *Ubuntu*, which is akin to Sahlin's (2011, 2013) mutuality of being – is a revered presumed state. Bob further adds that '*…it is our custom to return the hand*[32] *otherwise men might start talking…*'. As Bob's comment alludes, it is not a tribal custom nor honourable for a person to always receive from others and never give back. His assertion echoes Ken's, who also claimed that non-reciprocal gift acceptance is frowned upon. Bob's reference to his ancestors is also indicative of the role ancestors still play in the lives of the living. The premise is that if the ancestors used to engage in this reciprocal practice, then it must be right and worthy of re-enactment. Thus, by continuing to engage in such practices, then these informants were perpetuating their tribal customs, and subsequently their tribal identities. Bob's comments are also echoed by many other informants, such as Ken, Elijah, Callum, Tom, and Paul, who asserted that they regularly gather with tribal others every month for revolving collective goat sharing events. Although the events are typically referred to as goat eating, they also share other consumption practices, such as sharing drinks. Consider Ken's comment where he evokes the notion of reciprocal giving as an essential tribal norm:

> *…have never missed mbuzi* [ritual goat] *and it was* [is] *all by donation, it is just by request, okay, who's willing out give* [to give out] *mbuzi next month? And…a hand will shoot up and you're going to get it, all, provided. So, it is a, that is, you have actually asked me a very interesting question…come to think of it now, we have dispatched many goats without a break for many years.*

Like Bob and Ken, Elijah reflects that:

> *… ah, the traditional things we do, like, ah, the slaughtering of the* [ritual] *goats, the eating of traditional meals* [associated with tribal heritage] *…and one thing that I also forget to say is that, um, the, the guys who donate the meat, eh, are usually*

[32] 'Returning of the hand' is a commonly used phrase in reference to reciprocity. For example, if a man buys another a pint when they are out drinking, it is the norm amongst Kenyan tribes for the recipient to buy the next pint and so on to return the favour. This also extends to other forms of reciprocity. If the recipient does not return the hand, then he loses face amongst men as the first donor should not have to ask the recipient to return the favour.

rewarded as well, eh? I mean, you get the hind leg of a goat [another tribal symbolic gesture of recognition, appreciation and reciprocity for having donated to the collective] *…to take home to share with your family…and you also get to receive from the men a Tusker* [local beer owned by U.K based Diageo company] *or a viceroy if you like* [an African version of brandy alcoholic drink akin to the European Brandy types].

Sahlins (2011, 2013) depicts reciprocity as a defining characteristic of traditional tribes, often attributed to a need for mutuality of being among tribal societies. Here, goat-sharing events hold special meaning among informants. Besides being used to mark reciprocity, the goat-sharing practice is also appropriated with kinship re-enactment meanings. The next section report findings on goat sharing as pivotal collective consumption to establish kinship-like relationships. Reciprocity will be revisited later in Chapter six while dowry is unpacked in section 5.6.4.

5.6.3 Tribal bonding through collective consumption practices

Building on the preceding sub-sections that revealed reciprocal gift exchange practice to maintain social networks while affirming tribal identities, sub-section 5.6.3 emphasises how collective consumption practices establish tribal bonding that subsequently perpetuates tribal institutions. Specifically, this sub-section focuses explicitly on one aspect of collective sharing where kinship like relations with non-kin is established through a seemingly mundane act of goat-sharing rituals. Informants depict this mundane practice as a tradition from a long-established past when tribal ancestors used to build networks with non-kin for establishing and maintaining peace. This practice is widely shared across different tribes in the study, suggesting its importance within Kenyan society. Informants indicated that bonding through goat sharing is customarily practised by the male as used to happen in their long-established tribal past. Several male informants, such as Dom, Elijah, Ken, Matt, Musa and Tom, disclosed their participation in recreating kinship-like connections with others through goat sharing rituals. For example, Matt, who moved to Mombasa from Central Kenya for work discloses that he established bonds with others from up-country through this long-established tribal practice of collectively sharing:

> *…we from up-country stick together when we are here* [Mombasa]*…the locals do not like us…and as is our African culture, when men spill over the blood of an animal to form friendship* [in his case a goat with other up-country tribes], *you become brothers…so here, these people* [with whom they shared the ritual practice] *are now my brothers…they do more for me than my brothers up-country.*

Matt's comment shows that he seeks social bonds akin to kinship because he finds himself away from his blood-related tribal kinsfolk. His perception of not being liked by local tribes drives him to seek bonds with up-country tribes in Mombasa, suggesting that up-country tribes possibly share mutual feelings of isolation while away from their tribal kin. If the feelings of isolation and not being liked by local tribes is shared amongst up-country tribes residing in Mombasa, then it may be one reason for seeking social bonds with other up-country tribes through the long-established practice of recreating kin-like relations with discerning others. Matt's likening of those with whom he has established relationships through the collective consumption of a ritual goat as his brothers indicate the importance of tribal rituals within a modern context. Like the reciprocal gift exchange discussed in the preceding sub-section, the bonds are maintained through monthly rituals where Matt and his significant others meet at a pub to eat together and discuss issues affecting them. Thus, their collective consumption also establishes a community of shared ideals. Like Matt, Elijah also discloses that he participates in monthly goat-eating events held in Nairobi to bond and connect with other men from central Kenya. Elijah reflects that:

> *…here, we do it like our forefathers used to do…that's why they had peace with neighbouring tribes…and with men you can't eat together then draw the sword…well that's how our forefathers taught us…so we are doing the same here…extending our hand of peace and of course connections…yeah this is important, connections…that unity helped our forefathers wade off invading Maasai and the Mzungu.*

Ken also echoes both Matt and Elijah's sentiments on collective sharing to establish links with other males akin to a brotherhood. Like Elijah and Matt, he also claims the practice of collective sharing to establish kinship like relationships is handed down from his tribal forefathers:

…it is well known that in the olden days, our fathers [ancestors] used to slaughter a goat, sprinkle blood from the goat and pour libations to honour the bonding process…we are just doing the same today…these people you see here [at a goat eating gathering] are my brothers…they will watch my back as I watch theirs it is just the way it is.

In both Elijah and Ken's disclosures, we see a mundane act of eating together appropriated bonding meanings strong enough for them to consider each other as kin. Only discerning others can perceive the seemingly ordinary sharing of a goat and drinks as a permanent bond of brotherhood. Such is the complexity of tribal culture that extant literature on consumer behaviour has yet to address the implications of tribal customs on the consumption behaviour of tribes, an aspect this thesis addresses.

Several male informants revealed the establishment of kinship-like relationships with other men within and across different tribes. The bonds they establish through collective consumption indicates how an ordinary practice can influence tribal relationships when the practice is appropriated meanings collectively developed and perpetuated from a long-established past. By re-enacting this bonding practice, those participating maintain tribal relevance.

5.6.4 Consumption and dowry practice

This section presents findings on dowry custom as a consumption practice that accords those practising it tribal cultural capital through conformity. The dowry custom is itself institutionalised within the tribe, with men dominating in its negotiation and implementation (Kenyatta 2015). Here, we witness informants' motivation to re-enact and affirm tribal institutional and gender conformity through dowry customs and accompanying consumption practices.

Many informants disclosed that dowry in the Kenyan tribal context describes an ancient tribal process of gift exchange between the families of the bride and the families of the bridegroom. Several informants (such as Charity, Jackeline, John, and Kat) claimed that dowry re-enactment is a revered tribal custom, depicting it as a pivotal undertaking that demonstrates one's conformity to significant tribal traditions and to the tribe. The dowry practices demonstrate to others one's loyalty to their tribe and respect for an ancestral tribal custom.

For example, consider how Charity asserts the importance of dowry in showing appreciation to potential family in-laws but also as an opportunity to display compliance with tribal customs among her Meru tribe:

> *…unless proper respect is shown to the parents and clan, consent won't be given to marry their girl…some men will overtly do it to be in no doubt that the marriage will go ahead, like slaughter a bull for the girls family. Proper Meru's will expect all the cultural items associated with dowry to be present for them to accept this is a real dowry…like...you know…a heifer, drum of honey, a she-goat and a blanket given to the parents of the girl in the presence of witnesses*

While dowry practices also served as a gesture of honour to the family of the bride and a return of favour for being given a bride, informants indicated that dowry should be conspicuously displayed. The practice is often accompanied by new goods to express the groom's success while also searching for approval from other tribal members as typified by John:

> *Dowry is the reason we started coming* [coalescing] *together…You see among the G.E.M.A communities* [Gikuyu tribe Embu, Meru and Akamba tribe], *... even those who are very religious ones, the Church wedding must get parental blessings and the blessings cannot happen without Dowry to the parents if the girl… if so this* [Dowry] *is very important to us* [Kikuyu and tribe and under G.E.M.A tribes]. *So even if you go ahead and marry in Church without paying dowry you still must one day come down to your roots otherwise nobody will marry your daughters …you see the Kikuyu and* [the] *G.E.M.A community at large expect dowry to be paid in full at some point for their married daughters.*

To John, coming together with tribal others to perform dowry rituals is crucial as they collectively recognise the importance of keeping this dowry custom relevant in modernising Kenya. This conclusion is based on the meaning John makes of this tribal custom:

> *…we all recognised we have a common problem…that of dowry. You see there are some* [of us tribal people] *who want to pay their respects to parents of the girl…but have never been able to…*

John's comments indicate the significance of dowry practice in demonstrating one's conformity to tribal customs and the associated honour one is accorded for conforming to this tradition. The dowry custom among the G.E.M.A tribes is depicted as subsuming the Christian wedding, hence suggesting tribal identity supersedes a Christian identity. Thus, affirming one's tribal identity through re-enacting a tradition, such as a dowry, is a revered act that can be likened to Bourdieu's (1977) cultural capital. John highlights this when he discloses the stigma associated in non-conformity to tribal customs, unless one goes back to the [tribal] roots, they may struggle to find someone within the tribe to marry their daughters. Such is the importance of conformity that Joana helped her husband to fulfil this tribal custom and earn honour among his fellow men and respect from Joana's family. She discloses that dowry *'…is important for us to do it…and is our culture…I also helped my husband because he is not doing that well* [with finances] *…children school fees and all…'.*

The observance of dowry custom has a tribal cultural capital connotation that can assist in gaining honour for one's family among discerning tribal others. This conclusion indicates a passion in recreating dowry custom as a common symbolic consumption practice reminiscent of an ancestral tribal past. The shared passion for this custom acts as the linking value for some people. For example, Matt reflected on the dowry practice stating that:

> *We drove in a convoy of 200 hundred cars, and nearly all my brothers from G6* [Mombasa] *came to give me support…and the money we gave to our in-laws was a lot …cars were parked all over the roads, everyone in the village knew their daughter wasn't going to a pauper…today they still talk about us* [The Mombasa immigrants who went back up-country demonstrating success].

Matt's reflection alludes to the pride he attaches to the support he received from fellow up-country tribal people residing in Mombasa when he returned to Central Kenya for a dowry ritual. His comment suggests that gathering with others from his tribe, passionate about the dowry custom, not only supported him in creating a positive image of success to his in-laws but also asserted his achievements among his significant tribal others residing in Mombasa. Furthermore, his reference to those who supported him, and with whom he shares a passion for dowry custom also suggest that he likens them to kinsfolk (section 5.6.3). Matt suggests an adaptation of tribal customs with the modern in his explanation of the expensive gifts he took for his prospective father in-law and brother in-laws *'…they were excited that I didn't go empty*

handed…we gave lots of money and of course two 'blue labels' [Johnnie Walker Blue label distributed in Kenya by East African Breweries Limited, partly owned by the U.K based Diageo Plc], *one for my dad* [his father in law] *and the other for her elder brother'*. Both John and Matt's disclosures point us to their passion for re-enacting dowry rituals. Therefore, having significant others to share a tribal custom with not only offers one a podium for social capital acquisition, display tribal compliance but also an opportunity to show their achievements. This reinforces an earlier observation that Kenyan society actively perpetuates tribal identities, which are sometimes manifested through consumption practices. Furthermore, the author's fieldnotes also observed tribal people:

1. *Dressing up in what they described as traditional dresses for their respective tribes. For example, in some of the men's goat eating events when people came in driving modern cars and wearing contemporary dressing such as suits, Nike shoes, flashing smart phones etc. then they remove from the boot of their cars attire locally believed to represent their respective tribes. Dress up in this attire, engage collectively in the tribal customs at hand. Then when the vents are finished and they have to drive away, they would change into modern contemporary costumes such as suits and casual modern attire.*
2. *Songs they describe as tribal songs, sung in their tribal dialects and everyone joining in the singing.*
3. *Gift exchange – dowry events are negotiated while people eat and drink together. Alcoholic drinks are always present, whether traditionally made liquor like the Kikuyu 'Njohi.', an alcoholic drink made from honey and 'muratina fruit'. Traditional liquor is often complemented with modern alcoholic drinks such as Johnnie Walker observed during this event instead of the traditional 'Njohi' and corroborated during impromptu interviews. Here, both traditional and modern are observed to be present. Most of the drinks here are from East African Breweries such as different brands of Tusker beer while the Johnnie Walker is reserved for the bride's side as a sign of honour*

Kiamumbi, General, June 2017

In sum, within modernising Kenya, tribal identities are expressed through re-enacted practices collectively assumed to represent tribal customs from an ancestral past. Consumption is used

to demonstrate one's conformity to tribal customs. Where the traditional tribal objects are replaced with modern ones, the tribal symbolism is still retained. This finding is interesting because it indicates evolving socially constructed meanings upon tribal customs.

5.6.5 Performing gender roles to affirm tribal conformity

The re-enactment of tribal traditions and perpetuating tribal institutionalism also takes place through recreating presumed traditional gender roles. Informants disclosed that both male and female were customarily expected to perform gender-distinct roles within their respective tribes. This affirmation was expressed through interviews but equally observed during tribal events. For example, during mixed-gender gatherings, observations revealed that the women dominated the welcoming and hosting of guests akin to their habituated gender roles. Informants explained that performing re-enacted gender roles extended to their everyday lives in line with their avowed keeping in touch with their tribal roots. These distinct gender roles are still recreated today as a way of returning to tribal roots. Consider Kat's observation, made during a tribal event, where the slaughter and preparation of meat for the occasion were led by men away from the women and later taken to the women for cooking. This mundane act, although recreated in modernising Kenya, was depicted as symbolising a tribal past when men acted as hunters who provided for their families:

> *It is important for us to teach our younger women what is expected of them once they get married…you see…we cannot forget who we are….that is why during events* [such as the observed dowry negotiation], *we do not want the men on our way as is not our ways…we don't want them* [women] *lost to these confusing lifestyles of today* [modernising Society]*…a man should stick to their ways and us (women) ours.*

Alternatively, the seemingly ordinary act of women preparing what was brought to them and later serving the family and guests, re-creates a tribal past when women acted as the homemakers. Kat reiterated that *'mwacha mira ni mtumwa,'* - which is a Kiswahili saying translating to *'those who abandon their heritage are slaves'* - is suggestive that she can be an active participant in asserting her tribal identity. Kat's disclosure is echoed by other informants, such as Gemma, Joana, Julia, Musa and Tom. Gemma's comment is typical of others:

> *You know …we were Kikuyu first even before the colonialist brought us this religion [Christianity, a religion she also describes herself as being affiliated to because she considers herself a born-again Christian], driving everyone crazy now in Africa, so our culture [Kikuyu] comes first … and those genuine about being Kikuyu's will proudly share who they are [such as thorough tribal symbolic consumption] without being shy … otherwise we shall remain slaves … and [that] won't be nice …so you see, this helps us maintain our values and also teach our young women who they truly are [Kikuyu expectations of a married Woman], that is why we take it very seriously… we have no time with those who are not willing to respect our values.*

Gemma's meaning-making of distinct gender roles appears to be rooted in her interpretation of her Kikuyu tribe's dealing with western, often colonial culture. This is captured in her inferred reference of colonists as disrupting the tribal culture of the Kikuyus through Christianity. While her views may lack evidence to support her thoughts about colonists and Christianity, her meaning-making suggest her motivation to a return to an imaginary tribal past where there were distinct values that identified a Kikuyu woman. Colonial interference with Kenya appears to influence some people's interpretation of culture. Reflecting on what she considers to be characteristics of a Kikuyu tribal woman in present Kenya, Gemma alludes to a woman who identifies herself first as a Kikuyu, thus highlighting the importance of tribal cultural capital. Gemma does not see any problem with adopting some non-Kikuyu values so long as one is culturally Kikuyu first. This is evident in Gemma's later comments:

> *We support members in furnishing our houses to a high standard as is expected of Kikuyu women … we are the homemakers* [Kikuyu women are locally regarded as the root for strong homes and are known to take over the role of husbands in case their husbands are weak. Hence will typically not hesitate to take the lead in making their homesteads successful else risk being looked down on by fellow Kikuyu Women] *… I don't really care they [imports of household goods] are imported from Dubai or China though I personally would rather have European made… their quality is better* [quality of home furnishings].

Here, Gemma indicates the significant meaning she attributes to keeping her tribal customs through performing tribal roles while embracing the consumption of foreign-made goods. Her reflection suggests bargaining with fellow tribal Kikuyu's in her pursuit to be both a perfect

Kikuyu woman as demanded customarily, while still introducing to her family modern consumer goods if they are considered by her significant other to be of good standing. Displaying tribal loyalty is important, hence tribal and gender conformance, such as through public display of performing tribal gendered roles. In sum, the informants reveal an affirmation of their tribal identities through recreating gender roles as an imagined representation of their tribal past. This practice suggests boundary-crossing of the past into the present, further highlighting the importance some people attach to tribal cultural capital even though within modernising Kenya.

5.6.6 Concluding remarks to sub-section 5.6

While informants disclosed making different consumption choices because their significant tribal others could decipher what they signified, the findings also suggest a departure from what is currently known about consumer tribes' consumption practices for two reasons. First, unlike the western notion of consumer tribes where people have a 'linking value' through shared consumption (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova and Pace 2006; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012), the informants' in this study combined consumption practices of a distinct traditional tribal past. Second, most informants (19 of the 26) disclosed that they engaged in re-enactment and consumption of tribal heritage when among self-selected significant tribal others who could decipher the meanings of their practices. This is indicative of pursuing recognition from significant others through conformity to practices. Therefore, it is reasonable to infer that informants sought tribal cultural capital through the conspicuous display of conformity.

Furthermore, in contrast to informants' respective traditional tribes whose membership is through birth, those with whom they consume tribal heritage are a deliberate choice of sociality. The findings allude to a deliberate choice to partake in tribal consumption while combining elements of modernising society into informants' consumption. Consequently, the findings above highlight a deviation from the Western characterisation of consumer tribes (see Cova and Cova 2002). Therefore, these findings present an under-researched phenomenon – that of consumption happening in tribal societies to collectively experience an enchanted bygone tribal past while blending in with some aspects of a modernisation.

5.7 Chapter conclusion

This chapter presents findings on informants' accounts that portray them as tribal people based on their self-description and supported by distinct practices generally attributed to traditional tribes. Informants' lived realities reveal how they affirmed what they interpreted to be their

tribal identities, manifested and expressed through self-selected tribal symbolic consumption practices. Three key findings prominently emerge. First, traditional tribes still exist in Kenya today, and that consumption is collectively negotiated and used to assert a mutually shared and imagined interpretation of tribal identities. The findings highlight the prominent practices that informants used to affirm their respective tribal identities. Although these are not the only consumption practices they disclosed to engage in, where tribal identity expressions were concerned, these practices were generally shared amongst the informants. Therefore, it is reasonable to surmise that these are essential and defining characteristics of traditional tribes to which informants avowed membership to.

Second, whereas most of the tribal practices for affirming tribal identities are shared across male and female informants, some practices allude to being more appealing to the male than female informants. For example, on establishing bonds akin to kinship through the re-enactment of tribal rituals, none of the female informants acknowledged ever taking part in them. To male informants, this re-enacted ritual practice was disclosed as making them feel more accepted among the company of fellow men – even when they did not share the same traditional tribal background. Bonds established through consuming together led most informants to liken those with whom they shared collective consumption with as brothers and sisters. However, the bonds established extended to favourable socialising, suggestive of social capital acquisition through demonstration of conformity to re-enacted tribal cultural practices to discerning others.

Third, the findings on dowry rituals, reciprocity in giving, gender roles re-enactment, and the consumption of ordinary foods considered tribal indicates that both male and female informants had an allure to partake in these practices and be recognised by others for their conformity. This suggests that informants pursue the acquisition of embodied and objectified tribal cultural capital.

Table 5.3 summarises the emergent key characteristics of tribes in this study, presenting a synopsis of prominent characteristics which were observed and affirmed by informants as present within their respective traditional tribes.

Table 5. 3: Main characteristics emerging from the tribes in the study

Characteristics associated with the tribes	Kikuyu	Luo	Kalenjin	Meru	Embu	Luhya	Kamba
Dialect	Distinct but similarities exist with Meru, Kamba and Embu	Distinct	Distinct	Distinct but similarities exist with Kikuyu and Embu	Distinct but similarities exist with Meru and Kikuyu	distinct	Distinct but similarities exist with Kikuyu and Embu
Reciprocity in giving	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Existence of distinct 'tribal foods'	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dowry rituals	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kinship re-creation rituals	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mutuality of being for tribal members	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

These findings compellingly suggest that these traditional tribes still exist in Kenya and that some tribal customs are crossing boundaries into the modern marketplace. Table 5.4 provides a synopsis of emergent characteristics from traditional tribes in the study, against common characteristics of consumer tribes. Table 5.4 summarises the key tenets from the findings. Whereas both traditional tribes and consumer tribes engage in consumption practices, their characteristics indicate significant differences between the two type of tribes.

Table 5. 4: Emergent traditional tribes' characteristics and consumer tribes' key characteristics

Emergent characteristics of traditional tribes	Consumer tribes	Dimensions of consumer tribes - literature derived
Stability of tribe is high.	Unstable.	Stability.
A mutual passion for recreated traditional tribal past (reciprocity, kinship, dowry ritual re-enactment.)	A mutual passion for marketplace good.	Linking value.
Rarely fluctuates, hence enduring.	Changeable, constantly fluctuates.	Fluidity.
Long-lived collective.	Short-lived collective.	Ephemerality.

The next chapter reports findings regarding why informants chose to gather and collectively consume alongside other tribal people and how the subsequent gatherings are organised.

Chapter 6: Tribal collectives supported by consumption

6.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on Chapter 5's findings that show how Kenyan tribes use consumption and customary practices to affirm tribal identities. Chapter 6 delves deeper into why Kenyans sharing beliefs in tribal identities coalesce with others of similar views. It outlines the different forms of tribal collectives and the role of consumption in them. This chapter addresses the research question:

> What are the consumption characteristics of consumers who coalesce in a modernising tribal society and how does their consumption compare to those of consumer tribes?

Four prominent types of tribal collectives (TCs) emerge from the findings. They are collectives of tribal people where:

- members are exclusively drawn from the same traditional tribe (section 6.2);
- members are exclusively of the same gender, from either the same traditional tribe or multiple tribes' gatherings but united through shared mutual interests in diverse tribal customs (sub-section 6.2.2):
- members are drawn from closely-related tribes that share similarities in some aspects of their tribal customs (section 6.3); or
- members are drawn from the wider Kenyan society regardless of tribal backgrounds (section 6.4).

6.2 Tribal collectives constituting the same traditional tribe

One prominent collective type that emerged from thematic analysis consists of people exclusively from the same tribe regardless of their geographical region. Gluckman (2004, 2017), Gulliver (1969b, 2013) and Southall's (1970) claims that tribes are distinguishable by a cultural-regional criterion is partially challenged by these TC types that do not rely upon geography, instead, coalescing while away from their traditional tribal regions. However, as will be shown, the re-enacted cultural practices in this TC type are similar to those from a long-established traditional tribal past.

6.2.1 Re-enacting tribal customs regardless of geography

The findings show that Kenyans sharing a belief in their distinctiveness based on tribal identities tend to coalesce with others from their tribe regardless of geographical displacement from traditional tribal regions. By doing so, these TC types challenge the assumption that geographic region is essential for a tribe to exist (Gluckman 2004, 2017; Gulliver 1969b, 2013; Southall 1970). The interviewees' disclosures and participant observations indicated that the appeal of this TC type is a mutually shared interest in collectively re-enacting distinct tribal customs of a long-established tribal past, regardless of where members are situated. The tribal identity is thus not necessarily tied to a tribal region, as has been previously reported (Lonsdale 2008), but instead from a belief that evolves with a changing environment, such as urbanisation. Most interviewees from this TC report that coalescing with others from their traditional tribe ensures harmony and enhances socialisation. Thus, the tribal identity of members emerges as a prerequisite for harmony in socialisation, with most members displaying their tribal identities to other members. G1 offers an example of this TC type, being a mixed-gender Kikuyu tribe TC conceived primarily to support members in fulfilling an essential tribal custom of dowry. Since its inception, G1's members have predominantly had their ancestral origins in Central Kenya have been resident in Thika.[33] It has expanded its activities to include social support for members (see Appendix 7). In the next few paragraphs, Joana and John display aspects of tribalism in G1, in line with the literature that depicts Kenya as a tribal society (Njogu, Ngeta and Wanjau 2010; Wrong and Williams 2009, 2010). John, a member of G1, shares his insights into this TC including his motivations to coalesce with his tribal kin:

> *We are not saying that you cannot be a member unless one of us [Kikuyu] no ... but we are not going to change how we do our things here [re-enacted customs] for you [non-Kikuyu] ... we speak Kikuyu while here and are not apologetic ... we value [our] Kikuyu traditions and some of our traditions are difficult to follow for outsiders ... but nothing is preventing our members from associating with other tribes outside of the group ... but when you are here, it is all about us.*

John's disclosure portrays G1 as a TC that places Kikuyu traditions before others and as space where members perpetuate aspects of tribal customs. For example, the use of tribal language during meetings promotes a tribal language even though members are in a town. By using their tribal language when they come together, anyone unfamiliar with this language is inadvertently

[33] Thika town is an industrial town, situated 26 miles from the centre at the outskirts of Nairobi.

excluded from participation in conversations. The author captures the importance of Kikuyu tribal customs in G1 in another of John's comment that:

> *dowry is the reason we started G1 ... on the basis that, all members have [had] a common problem. Ah, one, we attend [to] dowry problems.*

Dowry is customarily practised among the Kikuyu tribe (Kenyatta 1938, 2015) and seems important enough for John and others to support each other perform it, especially when they find themselves away from tribal regions. Observing dowry practice and supporting each other to fulfil the same legitimises one as a tribal person as this appears to be a collectively shared custom. John's assertion that 'we are not going to change how we do our things here for you' suggests a non-apologetic exclusion of those outside his tribe. If this view is widely shared across G1, as John claimed during the interview, then G1 fits the description of a same-tribe TC where members share allure to their distinct tribal customs. He implies that his tribe should take prominence and subsume others that would want to partake in their tribal practices, insofar as Kikuyu culture is concerned. If this attitude is shared by all members, then it is reasonable to conclude that G1 is a Kikuyu tribal collective where one's identity determines acceptance in this TC, even when in a town.

The importance of dowry as a signifier of tribal identity is collaborated by Joana, another member of G1, whose narrative highlights the importance of dowry custom to G1 members:

> *My husband and I believe in keeping our values alive ... Although we are 'Born again Christians', this does not mean we disregard our ways ... in fact ... Kikuyu culture fit well with Christianity so we do not have to change much when we become like this. In this group all members are Kikuyus and they have no problem with our faith ... we all join in doing Kikuyu things together because everyone understands our cultures ... and other members when they hear I am doing this or that for my husband, no one asks 'oh why are you still doing this for him and you are a professional Woman' or why are we bothered about our ways? No, no, they know why because they are like us [Kikuyu tribe]…they even supported us during our marriage rituals ... and when we go to the 'Gichagi'[34] like during dowries ... when we dress differently and join in the dancing no one says oh look here she is an educated*

[34] Gichagi - Kikuyu reference to the ancestral village.

woman doing this and that ... no. When we go with members to Gichagi we all join in ... we are at home there as we are here.

Joana's comment indicates a tension between her desire to keep her tribal customs relevant while also revealing the changing role of women in a modernising tribal society that still expects certain gendered socialised performances. She alludes to the need for demonstrating conformity to tribal customs to earn what appears to be tribal cultural capital, something that G1 enhances. For example, in clarifying her assertion that 'when they hear I am doing this or that for my husband, no one asks 'oh why are you still doing this for him and you are a professional woman', she exposes the conditioned tribal expectations of a wife. Conditioned household chores for married women are not uncommon in Kenyan society (Musalia 2018). It is reasonable to conclude that her tribal culture expects her to care for and support her husband, including cooking for him, ensuring the home is tidy, washing and ironing his clothes, or ensuring the maid does so to her husband's satisfaction. From her disclosure, membership to G1 miles away from her traditional tribal region appears to reassure her that she can embrace aspects of urban life and modernisation without undermining her tribal identity. So, Joana and her husband's choice of the same tribal TC seems to be because it offers space for validation as conforming whilst being culturally generative.

Her professional career as a teacher does not seem to exclude her from tribal expectations to perform these 'wifely duties'. If these expectations are widely shared, it is reasonable to suppose that her willingness to conform and display her expected role as a married Kikuyu woman motivates her towards G1 and wider macro-social level conformity. This inference appears in her assertion that 'my husband and I believe in keeping our values alive'. So, they choose to coalesce with others sharing similar interests in keeping the Kikuyu culture alive while validating each other's choices.

The author's field notes capture the importance of validation through cultural conformity:

I met Joana through a recommendation from my contact in Thika. She is in the same group as John. Our first contact was via mobile communication. We agreed to meet at Makongeni estate at the outskirts of Thika town. The meeting was at a small restaurant selling mainly tea and local cuisine. Joana said she wants to meet here because they don't sell alcohol like other restaurants. She is shy to be recorded at first

and prefers to speak in Kikuyu although she is a qualified teacher able to converse in English. After I stopped recording, she became relaxed and continued to share more about her group and experiences. She often digresses asking about my research in the UK and teaching secondary schools in UK. She talks about Jesus a lot and politics in Kenya. I manage to get her back to my research questions. She talks about importance of Kikuyu culture and importance of keeping it alive. She says a lot of children in Thika and Kenya have gone astray because the parents are not instilling the right values themselves. She quotes several of what she claims to be bible verses to proof her stance such as "spare the rod and spoil the child"; "people without a vision perish"; "my people perish because they lack knowledge" and "those who leave their culture are slaves". She says she helped her husband pay the dowry for her to her parents because they wanted to "give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God". Her husband was struggling financially so she, alongside members of G1, helped raise the required money and resources to fulfil the tribal custom and receive parental blessings for their Christian wedding' (Fieldnotes, Joana, G1, Thika Makongeni, May 2017).

The fieldnotes are included here to integrate the interviewee's lived experiences obtained through observations and interviews in foraging for tribal behaviour, a practice that is also recommended for use in consumer tribes studies (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012).

Another TC made up of members drawn from the same tribe is G2 – a Nairobi-based Kikuyu women-only collective with an estimated 300 members. Jackeline, introduced earlier in Chapter five and a member of G2, narrates how they started:

We are all women, ... our Chama [group] started as a meeting of about 30 of us who knew each other like through Church or University or something like that ... and with roots in Central [Kenya] ... some were from Kiambu, Nairobi South and Eastlands ... but all like consider ourselves Nairobians[35] but all of us are really from Central ... so we decided to remind ourselves of who we really are ... like kind of empowering each other ... some of us are in business and others like myself senior proper jobs.

[35] Sheng word for people born and brought up in Nairobi regardless of parents' origin.

G2 empowers women members through the development of support networks where members access advice from fellow female professionals. For example, Jackeline revealed that members deliberately choose to coalesce around fellow Kikuyu women living in Nairobi because they find it 'easier to relate with [sic] each other'. This need to relate to similar others is also illustrated by Kate, who prefers her tribal kin gatherings:

> *Being in a Kikuyu group means we easily iron out our differences when they arise ... everyone understands the pecking order as they call it and this is important to us.*

Kate's comment reveals a tribal bias with presumptions of tribal superiority that appear to motivate her TC choice. Paradoxically, she also defends her choice as being driven by a mutual tribal behaviour relating to business. Her opinion, while seemingly defensible based on her perceptions of the money and business practices of the Kikuyu, exposes the stereotype of her tribal supremacy regarding money and business endeavours. Her narrative collaborates what Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango (2015) describe of Kenyan tribalism, where tribes are generally stereotyped, further indicating Kenya as a tribal society and perhaps unsurprisingly, home to tribal-constituted collectives. However, Kate's stereotyping lacks evidence to support her claim. If her presumptions are widespread in G2, then it is reasonable to conclude that some TCs emerge to cater to a given tribe's needs, further perpetuating tribal identities while inadvertently promoting tribalism. Perhaps then it is not surprising that Kate's presumptions are why she chooses to coalesce with others from her tribe. This inference emerges from her disclosure that:

> *being with other[s] who share similar interests makes me feel complete ... I know this sounds funny ... but after all the hassles in the city, once a month I know there is this group where we agree on most things ... including whom to vote for ... and anyway I am not tied ... no, I can always leave, but this group is home ... that's why I am still here three years on.*

To Kate, G2 gives her a sense of belonging perhaps cemented by her sharing of similar interests with other members. The shared interests are strengthened through monthly meetings, holding G2 together through reinforcing a mutual sense of togetherness. We can conclude that her attraction to this TC is also for the acquisition of social capital (Bourdieu 1986). Social capital emanates from a network of relationships that help social groups to function by establishing

mutually shared values, acceptable norms and reciprocal interpersonal relationships (Bourdieu 1986), aspects evident in Kate's disclosures. Thus, the same tribal TCs act as a common platform where members can collectively generate and acquire social capital. This inference is akin to Bourdieu's (1986) argument that social capital develops through repeated interactions of members of a given social group, for example, the monthly meetings of G2 members.
If we accept Kate's view as widespread realities in G2, then we can reasonably conclude the existence of some aspects of assemblages in G2, where distinct parts come together to form a whole while each constituent member retains its independence (DeLanda 2006, 2019).

> *Because we support each other financially and in business ... it is not just about being a fan of Kikuyu in the city although sometimes this helps like now if you are in politics ... no, we for like to make money as you know ... and it's not that we are tribalistic, no. Like now you see our economy is at an all-time low because people ... some people cannot think beyond politics ... imagine if I was in a group with these guys [other tribes]? But you know here, we all understand money and so don't mess with other members business ... and here we do money big time.*

In sum, it is reasonable to conclude from the interviewees' disclosures that the TC type represented by G1 and G2 is established primarily because of a mutually shared appreciation for tribal customs and a presumption of harmonious socialisation among tribal kin. This TC type offers interviewees such as John, Joana and Kate a suitable space to acquire and display to others their tribal cultural capital that subsequently is exchanged for social capital.

6.2.2 Tribal collective – the importance of gender

The findings reveal that the role of gender in society influences the formation of TCs. Here, TC types based on gender emerge as either same-tribe or as same-gender transcending traditional tribal boundaries to bring together different tribes but unified by their collectively shared cultural perceptions of gender. Examples of gender-based tribes include the G2, G3 and G4. G3 is an exclusive women-only collective comprising members drawn from the Kikuyu, Meru, Embu and Kamba tribes. G3 members are all residents of the Ruiru[36] region of Kenya, who started meeting at each other's homes in 1994. G4 is a Nairobi-based men-only collective with members drawn from multiple tribes from around Kenya (see Appendix).

[36] Ruiru is a region adjacent to Nairobi.

6.2.2.1 Women-only TCs

Three of the TCs in this research, G2, G3 and G5 (see Appendix 7), are exclusively women-only. Interviewees such as Jackeline, Nancy, Gemma and Kate provided insight into women-only TCs. They revealed their preference for women-only TCs because they believed a better understanding happens amongst women-only members. Their disclosures expose their assumption that mutual understanding of the meanings associated with their collectively-recreated tribal customs is enhanced when they coalesce among women sharing a tribal identity. For example, Jackeline explained how she felt when dealing with women from her tribe:

> *Kikuyu women will easily get along with each other 'cause of we are the same [tribal background], even when online when we are trading with each other or attending wedding parties ... you can tell we are different ... by the way we talk, the way we relate with each other, behaviour is different from others, that is why we stick together. You do not want to open yourself too much to strangers.*

Jackeline expresses her views that associating with people from her traditional tribe assures better cohesion in the G2 TC. She accepts an ingroup attitude and evaluation of others from her tribal kin and an outgroup evaluation of those that are not, hence her presumption of ease of socialisation. Jackeline's disclosure and the existence of the same tribe suggest aspects of tribalism, corroborating literature that depicts Kenya as a tribal society (Nevett and Perry 2001; Njogu, Ngeta and Wanjau 2010; Wrong 2010). Her disclosure also shows the importance of gender in enhancing relationships in TCs, indicative of heterogeneity, an aspect of assemblages (DeLanda 2006; Deleuze and Guattari 1988; Hoffman and Novak 2018). Here, we see the tribe able to exist on its own as does gender and the emergent Kikuyu women-only G2 TC. But these three connect and interact, united through shared identities that can individually exist, yet when interconnected release another capacity, subsequently producing a consumption assemblage. To Jackeline, it is not only being a member of a Kikuyu tribe that attracted her to G2, but also that it is a women-only TC. Thus, sharing a tribal identity and the same gender with the others produces harmony and understanding in the ensuing tribes-constituted consumption assemblage. Reflecting on her attraction towards G2 and the author as a male, Jackeline states that:

> *You know we are not like you men ... when you guys meet [tribal men] you like to drink a lot and eat Nyama Choma ... but we girls do not go out drinking and eating Nyama Choma. Instead, we discuss real business and then run home to cook for you*

guys ... so women groups perform better than men's since every coin goes to help instead of 'Pewa Moja'[37].

Her comment highlights gender stereotyping, but also a paradox. She chooses to coalesce with those from her Kikuyu tribes because 'it is much easier to deal with a fellow Kikuyu than with another tribe'. However, she also chooses a women-only collective even though there are also men in her tribe with whom she could coalesce. As with assemblages, it appears that gender can subsume tribal identity, indicative of non-fixed and movable parts that can shift and become replaceable in other bodies such as the G2 TC (DeLanda 2006; Deleuze and Guattari 2000; Hoffman and Novak 2018).

Nancy's disclosure about G3 supports this inference, where gender appears to subsume tribal identities thus corroborating Jackeline's statement. For example, Nancy, a 45-year old Embu woman is one of the 20 women who started the collective. She divulged that the women at G3 were either born in or moved to Nairobi and the neighbouring Ruiru region for a myriad of reasons, such as work and through marriage. Nancy stated that:

I moved here 17 years ago from Nairobi West where I grew up ... like most of the mothers, ... a few are from Meru and Nyeri ... but mainly we are Nairobians ... I would say like 80% of us are born and grew up here.

She estimates that by 2017, G3 membership was around 150 – 200 women. Nancy also reveals that G3 was initially established to support members during times of emotional hardship such as bereavements, but presently supports GEMA[38] women members in fulfilling tribal customs such as the mutually shared dowry and mentoring of younger women by experienced elder G3 members. No alcohol consumption is permitted during their gatherings, but soft drinks are acceptable. She explained:

It is not respectful for a decent woman to drink [alcohol] like the men do ... we have to set the right example for our children at home.

[37] A Kenyan phrase describing men buying each other drinks in pubs so as not to be the one who did not buy a round.
[38] GEMA – an association representing the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru at the national level (Tarmarkin 1973).

Her statement reveals a gender stereotype on traditions relating to alcohol consumption in Kenya, a possible reason for G3 being exclusively a women-only collective. It is reasonable to suppose that different consumption practices between genders could be linked to the emergence of gender-based collectives in Kenya and that tribal identity, gender and consumption interact to create a new phenomenon in the marketplace.

Like the G2 and G3, G5 is another women-only collective. However, it differs slightly because it is an exclusively Kikuyu married women-only collective. Gemma reveals that G5 was initially started in 1998 to empower married women members in several mutually agreed areas, including economic freedom from their husbands, while maintaining Kikuyu tribal customs. Membership is estimated to be about 150 – 200 (see Appendix). Gemma explained that G5 is also actively involved in mentoring younger, recently married female members on Kikuyu values:

> *We were Kikuyu first even before the colonialist brought us this religion [Christianity], driving everyone crazy now in Africa, so our culture comes first ... Furthermore, those genuine about being Kikuyu's will proudly share whom they are without being shy. Otherwise, we shall remain, slaves and [that] will not be nice ... so you see, this helps us maintain our values and also teach our young women who they genuinely are, that is why we take it very seriously ... we have no time with those who are not willing to respect our values.*

Gemma's meaning-making of distinct tribal roles in the G1 and the broader tribe appears to be rooted in her interpretation of the Kikuyu tribe before contact with historical colonial culture. She appears to believe her identity as a Kikuyu pre-dates colonial encounters, thus expressing similar views about the Kikuyu tribe reported in the literature (Kenyatta 1938/2015; Muriuki 1974; Muriuki and Sobania 2007). G5 thus emerges as an essential space that helps perpetuate Kikuyu values even as the tribal environment changes. Gemma accepts the importance of G5 in assisting women to learn about their legitimate tribal identities, while not being shy to display their tribal values. However, she does not see any problem with adopting some non-Kikuyu values so long as one is culturally Kikuyu first. This is evident in her comment:

> *We support members in furnishing our houses to a high standard as is expected of Kikuyu women ... we are the homemakers ... I do not care [if] they [imported household goods] are imported from Dubai or China.*

Gemma's comment also suggests the importance she attributes to keeping her tribal customs through the adoption of tribal roles, while also embracing the consumption of foreign-made goods – a blending in of tribal and modern marketplace consumption practices. Kikuyu customs relating to gender roles and modern consumption are negotiated and recreated in G5 to create experiences for Gemma and others like her. It seems the tribal bargain happens through the demonstration of conformity to tribal norms regarding domestic duties. Previous studies have reported distinct roles in domestic duties and decision-making among married people in Kenya (Kenyatta 1966; Musalia 2018). Several studies have also suggested that women's ability to make decisions independent of their husbands empowers them, subsequently challenging patriarchy (Kanogo 2005; Kinyanjui 2014, 2016; Musalia 2018; Mwiti and Goulding 2018). Thus, Gemma's disclosure appears consistent with broader Kenyan societal values. It is reasonable to suppose that a women-only collective supports female empowerment, akin to Kandiyoti's (1988) claim that women often strategise in their pursuit of challenging oppressive patriarchal systems. Her comment suggests her assumption of being a Kikuyu woman first who conforms to tribal expectations of woman as the homemaker whilst also exercising a woman's freedom to introduce her family to foreign modern consumption. Paradoxically, she suggests that one is subsumed by the tribe and associated customs, yet with some aspects of culture such as the woman as homemaker empowering them to embrace modern consumption practices. As alluded to by other women interviewees representing G2 and G3, conforming to tribal customs appears to be a strategy for empowerment in a patriarchal tribal society, supporting Kandiyoti's (1988) claim that women manipulate patriarchal systems to bargain for their position in society. Gemma fulfilling customary Kikuyu female expectations while introducing and embracing modern goods to demonstrate good taste, is akin to Bourdieu's (1984, 2013) judgement of one's taste in pursuit of distinction. Conformity and a display of tribal values through the women-only collectives suggest the importance attached to tribal customs, which may reasonably be attributed to tribal cultural capital acquisition (Bourdieu 1986). It is logical to infer that having conformed to tribal customs, the women free themselves from possible reprisal, allowing them to engage in mutual economic empowerment in the women-only collectives, akin to the Chama collectives postulated by Kinyanjui (2014, 2016) and Mwiti and Goulding (2018). So, aspects

of tribal culture, gender and consumption interact in the collectives to create empowered experiences for the women. G2, G3 and G5 have features that can be described as tribes-constituted consumption assemblages.

6.2.2.2 Men-only TCs

Like the women-only TCs, the findings also revealed a similar phenomenon where collectives consisted exclusively of men with members expected to first demonstrate conformity to tribal customs but then sometimes transcending tribal boundaries. Here, G4 is discussed as one example of a men-only TC transcending tribal boundaries (see Appendix 7), with the other being G6. Kigu offers insight into G4, affirming his male-only membership:

> *Ah, traditionally in this country women have been forming groups, even before men started coming together and they used to call them the Chama[39] and you find women, perhaps mostly they live in the same neighbourhood or they go to the same church or they have one uniting factor or the other, maybe their husbands work in the same place and so they probably live on company property and they decide, look, let's do something that is going to be of an economic gain or economic value, or even our welfare, you know, they have children who are having weddings and birthdays and the Chamas would come together and, I don't know precisely the formal part of what they do because we [men] are not invited ... And that was probably a reason we became the same, even these women don't invite us ... so, but us ... we are not only welfare, because we have seen these women having the groups and they put some money in the kitty and they are able to buy maybe pots and pans for one lady or a gift for someone or a baby came and we said, look [at what our] women [are able to do together, so ...] we trade, we do business, we invest, let's come together and think and invest together, can you suggest have a social without women this time, [so they can] let loose, talk men's stuff without looking behind your shoulder. This is the eighth year we have been doing this.*

Kigu's revelation highlights important points regarding his opinion of men-only TCs.
First, we see gender again emerge as an essential distinguishing characteristic regardless of whether it is in the same traditional tribe, closely related at the pan-national level. Kigu distinguishes between single-gender by alluding to societal expectations that some discussion types

[39] Group.

are generally acceptable to only happen amongst men, justifying the emergence of men-only TCs. This inference is captured when he mentions that members:

> *have a 'social' without women this time, [so they can] let loose, talk men's stuff without looking behind your [their] shoulders. This is the eighth year we have been doing this.*

This comment reinforces his argument that a men-only collective is necessary, not only for business networking but also as a platform where men can air their issues with fellow men because they possibly feel better understood. He depicts G4 as not only a space for business networking but also a social one where being a 'man' becomes a unifying factor for members. Kigu underscores the success of women-only Chamas where men are not welcome and suggest that men-only TCs are a response to the success of women-only ones, suggesting gender as a unique aspect with its capacity to influence the emergence of a gender-based collective. This is captured in his comment that 'traditionally in this country women have been forming groups, even before men started coming together'.

Through a process of arrangement and interaction between different constituents of a tribal society, new capacities are produced by interactions within the networks. Yet, each of the constituents still retains its autonomy (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 2000) such as Kigu retaining his Kikuyu tribal identity while the new arrangements create new capacities such as economic and social experiences for networked members in Nairobi. This arrangement appears similar to Weijo, Martin and Arnould's (2018) depiction of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of assemblages with capacity for de-territorialisation of a previously territorialised homogenous whole. For example, previously homogenous tribes undergo de-territorialisation as modernisation and changing gender roles in society interact to produce collectives with new but distinct capacities constituted of the tribe, gender and aspects of modernisation.

The gender-based TCs in a tribal society indicate a marked departure from the commonly held notion of consumer tribes (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012), brand communities (Muniz and O'Guinn 2001) and brand tribes (Otnes and Maclaran 2018). Consumer behaviour studies have limited research that explores gender-discriminating marketplace collectives, an important contribution this thesis makes to consumer research.

Second, Kigu's comments uncover a socio-economic role played by the G4. Besides offering members a platform to share and negotiate what he describes as 'men's stuff', G4 also helps members expand their business networks and subsequently realise economic empowerment. G4 reveals a new under-researched phenomenon of a marketplace collective with aspects of economic empowerment transcending traditional tribal boundaries.

For other interviewees such as Tom and Caleb, single-gender TCs offer a platform to learn from and be mentored by tribal elders. For example, describing how the G4 was conceived, what happens in it and what it means to him, Tom discloses that:

> *[the collective] is about networking and socialising ... mainly business networking. However, we initially did not start with business, we started as a social [collective] where 'Wazees' [elders] would mentor younger men in matters about our tribe ... well, tribes now because we are many [tribes] but when we first started, we were mainly Kikuyu ... of course, we now have many tribes in the group such as the Luo's, Kalenjins and many more tribes. So these Wazees as is our customs require a [ritual] goat to sit them down to share ... you do not expect to be mentored while they chew air ... after a few years, we moved from the original venue to accommodate the growing numbers ... we are now into several hundred […] Only men are accepted, ours is a man's affair ... women have their groups and they never invite us, so why not have a men-only [collective]? ... members are encouraged to introduce other men of good character, they must be respectful to our elders and understand why we do what we do to start asking questions ... so we are cautious whom we vouch for since if they are of bad character your standing here will be damaged. Furthermore, do not bring someone who is a dishonest businessman, we do not want members falling prey to conmen. So, ours is a gentlemen group ... we give priority to members while doing business or selling products, so we expect gentleman behaviour ... that is why we have this goat and elders for mentoring.*

Tom's comment reveals that central to his attraction to a male TC is a search for connections across multiple tribes, hence the tribe once again emerges as a prominent reason for coalescing alongside gender. Connections are not characterised by a single need, but instead take a pluralistic disposition where different types of connections are negotiated in the TC. The ritual goat merely acts as a meaning-infused object validating relationships of non-kin members, re-en-

acted to illustrate how ancestors used to establish similar connections with others and subsequently indicative of boundary-crossing from a tribal world of meanings in modern society. Like the object-consumer assemblage proposed by Hoffman and Novak (2018), the goat shared at G4 is imbued with tribal meanings and interacts with G4 members to create a new whole of relationships that enhance members' experiences in a modernising context. G4 can, therefore, be viewed as an assemblage of cultural objects and customs that interact with people sharing a collective consciousness of being tribal and drawn together into a coalescence of consumption.

Also, given the different tribes represented in G4 and the likely diversity of tribal customs inherent, the ritual goat has appropriated multi-tribal significance to appeal to diverse members, indicative of new capacities emerging from the assemblage. This tendency also suggests that tribes are evolving, and meanings being created to suit modern contexts. The result of vouching and shared mutual interests is the establishment of relationships where reciprocity in business is expected of members, akin to the mutuality in being which is common in traditional tribes. It is not surprising then that this men-only G4 uses a ritual goat which has appropriated a meaning that echoes traditional tribes' kinship re-enactment, culminating in a kin-like mutuality of being (Sahlins 2011, 2013). There are some overlaps between the different categories constituting TCs with consumption happening throughout.

6.3 Tribal alliances through collectives

Another category of TC emerging from the findings shows a phenomenon where people from traditionally closely-related tribes coalesce while away from their traditional tribal regions motivated by a shared mutual interest in tribal practices. However, whereas the findings suggest that closely related tribes initially coalesce because of shared similarities in cultural practices, the interviewees reveal that the subsequent collectives also cater to other social needs of members as will be shown. Coalescing of closely related tribes' phenomena emerged from G7, G8 and G3 TCs.

G7 (see Appendix 7) is a mixed-gender collective at the peripheries of Nairobi along the Thika - Nairobi highway, comprising members from the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu tribes. Interviewees from G7 such as Ken, Paul, Elijah and Janet indicated that they participated in communal re-enacting of customs considered to represent those tribes. For example, to be accepted as a G7 member, one is expected – but not obliged – to 'sponsor a sitting' for other members through the donation of a goat as a sign of commitment. This practice of gifts towards significant others

as a negotiation for acceptance into a group is a mutually shared custom among the GEMA tribes. Elijah typifies this shared belief that draws people together in stating that 'here we are like brothers and sisters and as you know from our forefathers, it is our culture to share ... so you show your generosity by sponsoring a sitting'.

G7 shares some similarities with G8 (see Appendix 7), another tribe-constituted collective of mixed gender closely related to the Kikuyu, Kamba, Meru and Embu. These tribes share a cultural-regional and linguistic similarity (Heine and Mohling 1980; Lonsdale 2008, 2009; Tucker and Bryan 2017). G8 is based in the Ruiru region of Kenya at the periphery of the Greater Nairobi metropolis. Kevin and Caleb provide insight into G8.

Like the G7 and G8 TCs, G3 is a collective of closely related tribes that constitutes of women-only membership drawn from the Embu, Kamba, Kikuyu and Meru tribes. Like G8, this collective is also in the Ruiru region of Kenya. Nancy provides insight into this collective. Although interviewees from the Embu-, Kamba-, Kikuyu- and Meru-constituted TCs attested to their own distinct tribal identities, they also indicated the blurredness in distinction when describing themselves through the umbrella identity of GEMA tribes. For example, Charity, who is from the Meru, noted that:

> *Since we moved here, we have found it easy because we are like the majority here [GEMA tribes] like, you know, you guys [Kikuyu tribe] are like us [Meru] and the Kamba ... so we like ... yeah this is home you know ... like when we have ruracio [dowry] nobody is like ... what is this thing?*

Charity's comment indicates her acceptance of Meru as a distinct tribe from the Kikuyu but also notes similarities in cultural practices.

For Nancy, a G3 member from the Embu tribe, 'when we meet, we usually speak in Swahili but some converse in their language, but we still understand each other ... our languages are similar'. Nancy's claim of linguistic similarities among those she assembles with at G3 agrees with literature that depicts Eastern Bantu speaking tribes as linguistically similar, which is also indicative of possible similar ancestral origin pre-dating the creation of Kenya (Heine and Mohling 1980; Munro 1967/2009; Tucker and Bryan 2017).

Similar views to Charity and Nancy are expressed by Kevin, who reveals that he believes in cultural similarities among the Embu, Kamba, Kikuyu and Meru tribes:

> *We [the Meru] are like the others culturally ... in fact, when I was growing up, the Kikuyu Bible was used in our Church and we could all understand ... but now we have a Meru Bible ... even our ancestors worked together ... like in colonial days.*

Kevin's comment indicates the difficulties in distinguishing these closely related tribes as they all share aspects of cultural and linguistic similarities. Kevin's statement is similar to Caleb's, who notes that:

> *Our [GEMA tribe] customs are very similar so ... we understand their customs because we also have the same ... However, some meanings [given to cultural practices] differ ... like for us, boys become men in their teens when they understand the meaning [of circumcision] ... but the Kamba do it differently and early when the boys are below ten.*

Caleb was explaining to the author why he considers his Meru tribe different from the others that constitute the G8 even as he accepted their cultural similarities. His statement indicates that even the same cultural practice, performed for the same purpose across the tribes can have some aspects interpreted differently and hence used to distinguish one tribe from another.
The interviewees suggest the existence of a generally understood and taken-for-granted presumption in their society that the tribes they represent have many similarities in cultural practices. However, their comments also imply that interviewees consider each tribe as having a distinct identity even as they accept their close similarities. Thus, the TCs which these interviewees represent appears to emerge because of mutually assumed similarities in tribal culture, hence why they can be viewed as tribe-constituted collectives because the prominent attraction to the coalescence is a collective consciousness of being from one of the GEMA tribes.

Charity, who was born and brought up in Nairobi, still describes herself by her Meru identity, implying that being born and brought up in Nairobi has not diminished it. Instead, she appears motivated to have joined the G3 because of presumed cultural similarities among the GEMA tribes. Here, we again witness geographic region being less significant in maintaining the notion of tribal identity. As Kenya modernises and urban centres emerge, some aspects of what

traditionally constituted a tribal identity also evolve. Here, Charity reveals her motivation to belong to a G3:

> *I am originally from Meru tribe ... well, my parents are ... However, I was born and brought up in Nairobi ... so I am a Meru living in Nairobi. […] [T]he language commonly used during our meetings is Kikuyu ... because the majority of our members are Kikuyu ... However, we are okay with it since we all understand each other [...] we the GEMA community share a lot in common ... we have similar culture ... so when we come together we have better understanding of each other ... especially for us women, it's important to come together because we can share family problems freely.*

Charity's assertion that cultural similarities ensure cohesion of members while offering family support to each other suggests that this collective type affords members some forms of capital. Charity's comment appears to suggest that through connections with others sharing cultural similarities, G3 members offer each other social benefits akin to Bourdieu's (1977) social capital. Assembling of closely related tribes' due to their shared similarities in cultural practices also creates suitable social fields for negotiation of cultural capital. Bourdieu (1977, 1990) claims that exposure to a given social field creates suitable conditions for habitus to occur and meanings about what constitutes legitimate capital in that society can be negotiated. Charity's comment echoes those of Caleb, Kevin and Nancy, who also indicated that the cultural and linguistic similarities among the Embu, Kamba, Kikuyu and Meru tribes, attracted them to this collective type.

Typically, Kenyans born and brought up in Nairobi regardless of tribal backgrounds generally adopt and are often locally understood to constitute a Nairobi identity (Githiora 2002). Such is the strength of Nairobi identity that a new language construct, Sheng, is associated with Nairobi born Kenyans and has emerged over the years. Sheng is a mixture of Kiswahili words, multiple diverse tribal words and English, characteristically spoken with a distinct Nairobi accent (Githiora 2002). If Charity's depiction of ease in relationships due to tribal similarities is collectively shared among G3 members, then such a belief has the potential to influence intra-group relationships and social capital acquisition. Social capital has been shown to create societal stratification because the interests of those outside the social group come after those with whom

they share values (Bourdieu 1972, 1986). Subsequently, those in the social group have reciprocal relationships that tend to favour members of their group (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013; Goulding 2017; Thompson, Henry and Bardhi 2018). Charity's views and motivation to join this tribal collective type are echoed by Nancy, whose motivation is encapsulated in her comment that:

> *When we moved here with my husband, we were welcomed well by the local community ... the majority of whom are from the G.E.M.A. My husband fitted very well with other men around here and is even a member of the local neighbourhood watch ... our children play together ... and even the Mama Mboga[40] is very polite ... it's just like being in Embu ... it was very easy for me to join the Ruiru group. We are one big family sharing a lot in common.*

Nancy's comment adds to the earlier inference of social capital being sought and produced in closely related tribes' TCs. Her continued membership of this collective type can be interpreted as a reciprocal relationship rooted in how she and her husband were welcomed into the community by fellow G.E.M.A tribal kin. It is fair to suppose that had they not felt welcome, then reciprocity in social relationships with neighbours might have been different. Reciprocity is a generally accepted and revered taken for the granted practice among Kenyan tribes. Nancy's disclosure is like Kevin's, who also indicated that coalescing with G.E.M.A tribe members made him 'feel at home with them'. Undoubtedly, a shared similar language and customs not only helps members easily connect but also gives them a feeling of family. Kevin's reflection on how the TC supports members during times of need exemplifies this sense of family:

> *We have helped many of our brothers who have been unfortunate to lose a family member ... so besides being a social group celebrating during good times ... we also help in times of need ... a member's problem is my problem too.*

Kevin's comment, like those from Charity and Nancy, alludes to the collective likening of other members to a family. This sense of the members as a family appears to partially motivate the interviewees to assemble with others that they consider culturally similar. Therefore, given that the motivation towards this collective type is widely shared, it is logical to conclude that the phenomenon produces at the micro-social level a subculture into the broader society akin to

[40] Vegetable sellers on street corners.

tribal kin. Here, people drawn from different but closely related tribes co-create a distinct hybrid tribe with its values, norms and practices that are somehow influenced by members' pre-assemblage conditioning by their respective traditional tribes. Kevin's disclosure that he views other members' problems as his own suggests a mutuality of being (Sahlin 2011; 2013) with others akin to the notion of Ubuntu (Kinyanjui 2016; Lutz 2009; Mabovula 2011).

6.4 National level multi-tribal collectives

Another collective type that emerges from the data is where members are drawn from diverse Kenyan tribes at the pan-national level. Here, tribal differences are set aside, but commonly shared tribal practices re-enacted in the emergent collective. The key motivator for these national-level TCs is profit through maximising business and commercial networks. These TCs appeared to thrive in Nairobi and Mombasa, the two largest cities in Kenya (OBG 2016).

G6 is a Mombasa-based men-only collective formed around 2005. Members are residents of Mombasa through work engagements or business but are not traditionally natives of Mombasa County. Most members are originally from what are considered up-country tribes – that is, tribes not native to of the coastal province. Insight into this G6 is provided by Matt (Kikuyu), Patrick (Kalenjin), Steve (Kalenjin) and Callum (Embu), all of whom estimated G6's membership at between 150-200 male members plus their girlfriends or wives. The initial purpose of G6 was to provide a platform for supporting up-country men moving to Mombasa to settle and socialise with others. However, G6 has since evolved to encompass the communal festivity of up-country tribal culture. Every Sunday, an estimated 50-100 members gather in a large pub at the outskirts of Mombasa to collectively share up-country cuisine and music.

G4 is a Nairobi based exclusively men-only collective containing members from tribes across the country who come together for communal heritage consumption of the different tribes represented while establishing social networks that are exploited for economic gain. In addition to three participants from G4 were interviewed: Alfred (Kamba), Dom (Luo), Kigu and Tom (both from the Kikuyu). A prominent motivation towards G4 as disclosed by the eight interviewees' is a mutually shared need to expand social and business networks beyond the constraints of one's tribe or a few closely related tribes especially while in larger cities away from traditional tribal regions. Here, appreciation of diverse tribal customs reinforces bonds among members that subsequently enhance respect, networking and acquisition of different forms of capital as

shown below. For example, Kigu's comment below demonstrates how a communal tribal significant consumption practice collectively perceived to legitimise reciprocal respectful male relationships produces social capital, that is then converted into economic capital through reciprocal business opportunities. Here, Kigu depicts the reason for coalescing across tribal boundaries in G4 as being motivated by business networks that emerge once social networks have been established:

> *So that's how it started ... it just transformed into a social Mbuzi from the traditional Mbuzi ... because now we also call it the Mbuzi Networking Forum. Our members are ... well we do have people from different tribes, in general and so it is not really about being Kikuyu or being Kalenjin or being Luhya, it's about ... three things I call the three pillars, social, business networking and mentorship of young men by elders, that is [what] hold[s] this group together. You know, business networking ... business, money doesn't know your tribe, it doesn't know your gender, it doesn't know your religion, so if it's a business opportunity, that already is a unifying factor for many people, [and] we can look for business here. And then the social aspect, as I say, 'Nyama Choma' is not unique to one particular tribe, so that is a common thing, so anybody, any man, is going to enjoy Nyama Choma with fellow men, so, yes, our [group is] not tribal biased, which is at the end of it those will be the reasons that keep people coming here. Yes, no doubt. It is still predominantly Kikuyu community but, you know, I think that's just because of how it started, but, you know, we've had people coming from the Luhya community and Meru, Kamba, or, Kalenjin and I think many others, I cannot remember off the top of my head, [but] we are ... about 800 members.*

Kigu's comment typifies what other interviewees from G4 expressed as their reasons for national level tribal coalescence – a need to extend their networks beyond the constraint of a single or closely related tribal level. However, this collective type also accorded members a space for demonstrating their tribal cultural capital to acquire social capital. To Kigu, 'money does not know' one's tribe and so, where mutually beneficial business networks can be established, tribal identities are set aside for economic gain. However, to establish reciprocal networks among fellow men, Kigu indicates that it is tribal custom to socialise over a Nyama Choma, a practice shared across tribes as mimicry of ancestral customs of a long-established past. Hence at G4, new members are expected to demonstrate their commitment to the group

by sponsoring a gathering through the donation of a goat for communal consumption. Kigu stated that:

> *In fact, this is one of the glues of G4. Afterwards, we encourage people to give each other the first rights of acceptance or refusal. Basically, the first offer, means that if you are part of my group, we sit down with you as a man, we have our Nyama Choma, we enjoy ourselves together. So if, for example, they sell vehicle tyres they should give you the first offer. Or, even buying tyres, for example, my car needs new tyres and I know there's a gentleman that sells car tyres, before I go out to look for somebody else I should first go to the person [in G4] who sells tyres and that is what I am calling the first right of acceptance or refusal.*

Kigu's comment indicates a phenomenon where a seemingly mundane act of donating to one's friends a seemingly ordinary goat accords G4 members access to business networks. Kigu's disclosure is akin to the acquisition of social capital for subsequent exchange with economic capital, a phenomenon reported in the works of Bourdieu (1977, 1984) and advanced in more recent studies (Goulding 2017). So, what appears to be a mundane act of goat giving is imbued with tribal meanings that make the practice sacred, making it significant in establishing relationships across tribal boundaries – like social capital – among discerning tribes. Kigu admits that one of his motivations to continue with the G4 is networking:

> *Personally, is what keeps me going there, I get business opportunities, I'm a businessman myself, so we're going to trade I've got one or two deals from there and, ah, the social, of course, I don't need to explain that, it's a nice afternoon and evening and then, of course, when you speak to older men, you know, then, ah, you get something that will help you in just your life as a man.*

This need to network reinforces and perpetuates tribal feelings of belonging. Matt discloses how G6 makes him feel:

> *Ours is like a brotherhood in Mombasa. These people do more for me than my real brothers up-country ... our families are far up-country [so] we must stick together ... and help each other.*

Matt's reflection is like earlier comments by interviewees who chose to coalesce beyond their tribal kin. G6 offers its members selective sociality because no one is compelled to join or donate to the group. However, some interviewees, such as Patrick, indicated that G6 members expected one to 'help each other, share our good bits and when sorrows come, we cry together ... However, tears alone will not help if you are in need, so we chip in'. This social support for members, whiles not explicitly demanded, seems to be an implied expectation of the good kinship-like behaviour akin to mutuality opined by Sahlins (2011, 2013). For Patrick, whose meaning-making resonates with most of the other interviewees, a pan-national tribal coalescence enables him to network and make friends regardless of their tribal background. This makes him feel a sense of belonging, especially when he is in Mombasa, far away from his traditional tribal kin in the Rift Valley region. Reflecting on what being in the pan-national tribal G6 means to him, Patrick states that:

> *Being in this group has given me many friends that I would never have met otherwise ... it's a great gathering every Sunday having to come here and share with others from up-country what has been happening in our lives. So, ours is not just about this thing which brings us here ... it's more than this. We help each other, share our good bits and when sorrows come we cry together ... but tears alone won't help if you are in need ... so we chip in. We also do help people settle down so you are always sure you have friends here.*

Patrick's reflection suggests that he recognises the vital role G6 plays in his social life, suggestive of G6's ability to accord him social capital. This inference is supported by Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social capital which he defines as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu 1986: 248). For example, Patrick's disclosure that he seeks connections with up-country tribes at G6 and that he has subsequently made meaningful connections suggests that he has benefitted from membership of G6. Like other interviewees, he depicts G6 as a platform where members support each other socially and financially. Hence, it is fair to conclude that these gatherings help members acquire social connections and subsequently social capital (Bourdieu 1986). Thus, for those seeking such social connections, G6 offers a vital platform to network with others from up-country tribes. However, as disclosed by Callum, another member of the G6:

> *New members have to be introduced into the group by an existing member ... the group vets before even their donation ... if they want to donate to other members can be accepted ... you see it is not this we are after but what it meant to our ancestors ... it's about proper bonding.*

Callum's comment supports Patrick's in that both depict membership to G6 as a way of linking with others like they would with their tribal kin. However, although a ritual donation to other members signifies an ancestral tribal form of bonding, members should extend their bonding to other mutually accepted social networks, further warranting the social capital inference. Different tribes, when they assemble away from either tribal kin or tribal region, tend to search for common uniting factors. For example, Dom, Kigu and Tom described the three pillars holding their TC together as social, mentorship and business networking. The pan-national TCs also provide members with a platform to not only connect with others across tribal boundaries, but also allow them to gain a sense of belonging among those they consider to be their significant others across the tribal divide. This inference is typified by Tom's comment that:

> *In my opinion, I think that nobody likes being an outcast. In general, before you go to the group itself, nobody likes being an outcast. Even in the elementary or primary school, there's no child that wants to feel you don't belong. So that is probably human nature. So, if you have been inducted into a group of gentlemen and ... one day they tell you, look, your company's no longer welcome, just the fact that you're being kicked out will stop you from doing whatever ill intention you had. I think it's just the thought that nobody, number one, wants to be an outcast, you don't look like a misfit and also the benefits that you get just by being part of the group, you don't want to lose the benefits.*

Tom's comment suggests that congruence with group norms is revered and the fear of exclusion shapes members' behaviour to conform with the TCs norms. Thus, an agreement among different tribes coalescing around the mundane practice of goat-eating transcends tribal boundaries to become like brothers and business partners where loyalty to the TC and each other is revered. The pan-national level TC is like a new hybrid tribe with norms, practices, rituals and invented meanings that hold members together. This inference partially aligns with Maffesoli's (1996, 2007) claim for western society, where, as the social fabric diminished with society's expansion, people sought to coalesce with others in what he termed modern tribes.

The findings further suggest that members risked being ostracised for non-conformity to the TCs invented or hybridised norms, alluding to the tribal collective being less prone to fluidity and ephemerality as members seek to fit in in the group. Thus, habituated and conditioned to TCs practices (Bourdieu 1977, 1990), the individual becomes subsumed by the collective's mutually shared values which are indicative of values akin to a 'religious model' (Maffesoli 1996:82), comparable to collective consciousness and mutuality of being which is thought to endure among traditional tribes and archaic societies (Mathiesen 2010; Mauss 2002; Mbiti 1969; Smith 2014; Sahlin 2011, 2013).

If we accept these inferences, then the pan-national level tribal collective type described by interviewees from G6 and the G4 differs from the western characterisation of consumer tribes depicted as transient entities and flux (Cova and Cova 2002). Nevertheless, it is difficult to suppose that the longevity of one's membership is only due to an assumed fear of being ostracised, as Tom implies, and not personal benefits accruing from the business and social networks the TCs accords. However, while the longevity of one's membership to a TC might render this a non-comparable characteristic to western consumer tribes, the shared mutual passion for business and social networks acts as a linking value for members too, hence sharing some aspects of consumer tribes.

6.5 Consumption and boundary-crossing in different TCs

This section brings together consumption practices observed by the author and revealed by the interviewees. In all the TC types discussed, both tribal heritage and modern consumption occurs. Interviewees like Matt described how TCs facilitate the creation and perpetuation of myths about brands with meanings fashioned, negotiated and appropriated onto modern goods. Similar intermingling was observed and expressed by other interviewees such as Jackeline, Joana, Kat, Kate, Kigu and Tom (see Appendices 7 and 8). The reports from Matt indicate that the links at the G6 came from collective sharing of beliefs in tribal customs, but this transcended into a shared passion for non-tribal consumption practices. We see from Matt's disclosures that:

> *I can never drive any other car other than a Toyota ... all my brothers here drive Toyota cars, they would laugh at me if I came driving say a Mazda. In fact, my first car ... I was ... you see ... literary taken to the dealer by Joel [another assemblage*

member], here we look after each other, we do not want our people [to] lose money on cars.

Matt divulges that once connections through a shared mutual passion for tribal customs are established, G6 members are willing to conform with others and express this conformance through consumption choices. Matt's comment also highlights the critical role members play in influencing each other's consumption choices. He expresses a desire to be seen by others as conforming to the brand of car he owns. He rationalises conformance to avoid being laughed at by his G6 brothers for non-uniformity in consumption choices. This desire to fit in outweighs the power to opt-out and is suggestive of deliberate, voluntary membership and a test of loyalty and commitment to his G6 brothers. Nevertheless, he chooses to stay in and conform to the G6's shared opinion about Toyota cars. After all, 'here we look after each other' and Joel's offer to take Matt to the Toyota car dealer is interpreted as a sign of caring among members so that none of his G6 'brothers ... lose money on cars'. So, G6 is not only a tribal collective but also one where consumption happens.

To Matt, driving a car other than the brand other members prefer is choosing to exclude himself and disregard fellow members' counsel. Therefore, it is fair to conclude that some consumption choices are influenced by and negotiated in G6. This negotiation involves co-creating a shared belief about goods, which is then bolstered through G6, akin to what happens in western consumer tribes (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). However, G6 differs from western consumer tribes in that through the ritual sharing goats, its members have attained a brotherhood relationship comparable to Sahlins' (2011, 2013) mutuality of being characterising kinship relationships. Here, tribal people see themselves in each other's existence and the needs of one member become the responsibility of all. Perhaps this is unsurprising, given that G6's members come from traditional tribes and where the possibility for boundary-crossing of tribal values and practices cannot be excluded from the values and practices in G6.

Boundary crossing from the tribal world of meanings into G6 and back to members echoes McCracken's (1986) supposition that a culturally constituted world of meanings can cross boundaries into modern consumption. If we accept this likeness, then the findings partially align with extant literature on western consumer practices. Nevertheless, G6 extends connections beyond one issue of mutual passion to embrace caring for each other. It is reasonable to infer that this is the reason Matt describes other members as brothers, a metaphor indicative of

the closeness he feels towards them. This reference suggests that membership of G6 affords one acceptance by others comparable to one's kin, regardless of traditional tribal backgrounds. The popularity of the Toyota brand and its perpetuation through TCs was mentioned by other interviewees such as Ken and Kevin, both of whom represent different TCs to G6. For example, Ken reflected on why Toyota is popular among members of G7. He reveals that:

> *I drive a Toyota ... we all drive Toyotas. I bought one because everybody here drives one. Toyota brand is fast-moving in terms of its saleable value. So if you want to change or you have a need you can quickly off-load that vehicle, but if you have the European vehicles, they are difficult [to re-sell], you cannot do this with those vehicles here, because there is no market for those vehicles ... and its servicing is costly.*

Ken's comment is typical of other interviewees who saw Toyota as good in resale value and perceived reliability. Ken implies that others widely hold these beliefs in Kenya. Perhaps this is not surprising given that the Kenya Revenue Authority records more Toyota cars bought in Kenya than any other brand annually, with Toyota controlling nearly 60% of the Kenyan car market (Business Daily Africa 2018). Ken's comment indicates that G7 members share their opinions about brands. The sharing of opinions influences some members' consumption choices. This is captured in his admission that 'I bought one because everybody here drives one'. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that members influence and are influenced by others to consume in a particular manner in the TCs due to the inferred perpetuation of collective presumptions about brands such as the shared perception of Toyota's superiority over European brands, or through their conformance in choices made to fit in with others.

Ken also lauds G7 for his switch from one brand of beer (Keroche) that members did not like to another brand (Balozi) of beer:

> *But Keroche has many people moved out because [the owner] supported a different political party that we were not supporting ... and [so] we moved out; actually, Kenyan breweries took advantage of that situation and they brought in Barozi, which if you go in a pub now is ... the main thing that is even taken and, it is almost taking over from Keroche. So, the consumption of the Barozi brand has been through the interaction of the group, yeah, because I cannot say meaning why I take Barozi, there is not another reason apart from being associated with the group, yeah.*

As Ken indicates that his relationship with G7 members extends to the negotiation of modern consumer goods. The influence of fellow members spans the consumption of politics, with consequential choices and brand switching. This is indicative of G7 exerting influence on members beyond merely sharing a mutual passion for a single marketplace good, a departure from the western consumer tribes where members are held together through a shared mutual passion for a single marketplace product (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). Ken's disclosures depict G7 creating a space for the negotiation of modern consumption with the capacity to influence brand switching to gain validation by others. Thus, tribal collectives can reasonably be described as tribe-constituted consumption collectives.

Ken's disclosure is echoed by other interviewees, like Kevin. Kevin subscribes to a G8 TC that not only informs him about consumption goods but also serves as a platform for social support for members. These are captured in his comment below:

> *I have learned a lot from others in this group ... like my home CCTV system, I was told about this by others in the group who also have done so ... Kenya is changing and criminals are getting smarter ... so now we monitor our homes and businesses on mobile phones and catch them while we are in the office without confronting [them] ... so this group has helped my family a lot. And then there is the car ... the most popular car brand in this group is Toyota ... all those I know who own cars have Toyotas ... I also drive one ... but I did not join because of Toyota, it just happens that we all like Toyotas. Our group also helps us when in need ... we have helped many of our brothers who have been unfortunate to lose family members ... so besides being a social group celebrating good times we also help in times of need ... most of our members ... in fact all the members that I can think of own a house around here ... so we are also like a neighbourhood kind of eh ... group ... so it is easy for us to meet every month to celebrate together.*

Reflecting on what G8 means to him, Kevin indicates that it offers him supportive networks which extend to the acquisition of consumer goods. G8 enables members to access social, emotional and financial support from fellow members during times of need while also learning about consumption goods which he claims to have bought on their recommendations. The choice of a Toyota is depicted as coincidental rather than being a reason for coalescing, but its popularity among other members is acknowledged. What is revealed is the coalescing that goes

beyond consumption, extending into the social wellbeing of members, unlike the Western consumer tribes commonly depicted as primarily linked through marketplace goods and therefore fluid (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012).

Like Matt and Ken, Kevin's use of the term 'brothers' to describe other members indicates the closeness that he possibly feels towards them, a deviation from typical Western consumer tribes. This closeness also influences members' loyalty to each other. For example, consider Musa's narrative where closeness in G7 also equates to consumption opportunities, including access to imported goods and business opportunities:

> *To be accepted here was important for me coz I could now be like one of them ... like when members get to know of nice things, they first inform members ... we are more loyal to our members because if you eat together then you stick together ... that's what [was] handed down to us by [our] ancestors ... so like when Elijah brings his imports, he lets members choose the best if they are interested ... and this also goes to jobs, if a member hears of one then you let us know first. This is an unwritten rule that all of us follow.*

Musa was responding to the author's probing of the relevance of kinship rituals in G7. His depiction of how members relate to each other is typical of similar comments made by other interviewees from other TCs such as Bob, Dom and Patrick. To Musa, partaking in tribal activities with others in G7 accords him an advantage when dealing with members. He alludes to an enchantment of a bygone past belief which supposes that people who share, such as through eating together, become closely linked and hence 'stick together' like the ancestors used to do. Thus, it is not just the sharing of the meal together but rather the boundary-crossing of meanings into the practice in honour of the ancestors.

If we accept Musa's perception as being widely shared in G7, then we can infer that members feel compelled to treat each other favourably because of a shared allure for conformity to ancestral practice. This conclusion is comparable to Bourdieu's (1977) notion of habitus where individuals sharing similar dispositions through sharing of conditioned backgrounds (Goulding 2017) tend to perceive and interpret their social world and react to it similarly. Consequently, by recognising and recreating an ancestral practice in G7, the human agency reproduces and perpetuates the social position that their ancestors held in the lived worlds of tribal people (Kenyatta 1938, 2015). Here, we see G7 not just as an ephemeral, fluid assemblage in a state

of flux like consumer tribes tend to be (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012), but as a potentially enduring gathering that perpetuates tribal narratives whilst engaging in a variety of consumption practices. We see different arrangements and networks in the TCs befitting a description as tribes-constituted consumption assemblages.

Musa's perception of loyalty in G7 is due to the assumption that conformity honours an ancestral practice. Thus, the modern lived world of Musa and possibly that of others in G7 are influenced by the re-enactment of enchanted bygone tribal practices. Furthermore, Musa's disclosure depicts G7 as embodying a collective re-imagination of an ideal community which echoes ancestral tribal past but attuned to members' present existences. From this line of argument, Musa's depiction of G7 has similarities to Cova and Cova's (2002) conceptualisation of consumer tribes, where the allure of a bygone tribal past attracts consumers to coalesce around modern marketplace goods (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Maffesoli 2007). However, the linking value in consumer tribes is central to the group's cohesion and is more important than the marketplace goods that bring them together in the first place (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinet and Shankar 2012). However, consumer tribes differ from the G7 in that the allure for a bygone tribal past is a real traditional tribal identity, alive and thriving in modernising Kenya, whereas consumer tribes only represent a mutually shared passion for marketplace goods that do not bear relevance to the consumer's real identity.

Thus, unlike the fluidity characterised in the western conceptualised consumer tribes (Cova and Cova 2002) where members are only held together so long as they continue sharing a mutual passion for the market place goods (Cova and Pace 2006; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013), G7 typifies collectives that are stable and with relationships extending beyond one single consumption goods. Here, stability is implied because of a mutual connection through significant tribal sharing, reminiscing a bygone tribal past – part of one's identity and sharing of modern marketplace practices where members prioritise each other in trying out new goods. In sum, interviewees' disclosures as typified by Gemma, Matt, Ken, Kevin and Musa indicate that, although there are distinct TCs, they share some similarities with consumer tribes. Through them, consumption practices are negotiated and meanings are constructed and appropriated onto goods, with repetitive gatherings maintaining bonds with others. These TCs are also distinct, with boundary crossing happening from the tribal constituted world of meanings into the TCs and members' bonds likened to one's kin even as they collectively negotiate for modern consumption.

6.6 Emergent characteristics of TCs

The findings reveal four prominent characteristics of TCs across the different conformations. First, all the TCs in this study linked their members through a mutually shared attraction to the re-creation of customs and practices associated with their members' traditional tribes. Indeed, tribal customs and practices emerged as central links for members, regardless of whether they were comprised of members drawn from the same traditional tribe, closely related tribes, pan-national tribes or single gender-based collectives. Given this shared passion for the communal re-enactment of a long-established tribal customs and practices, the members and entity fit the description of tribes-constituted consumption assemblages, something we will return to in Chapter 7.

Second, whereas establishing links with significant tribal figures happens first, members of TCs are not constrained to the communal consumption of shared tribal customs. Instead, they use their now-established connections to learn about and share experiences and occasionally collectively appropriate meanings onto consumption goods. Therefore, another prominent characteristic emerging from the findings is that TCs act as platforms for collective negotiation of multiple consumption practices.

Third, TCs emerged as stable, self-organised, self-directed and continually evolving entities where members collectively negotiate multiple consumption practices. Yet, central to their stability and longevity is not the mutual passion and sharing of marketplace goods, but rather the enduring shared passion for and repetitive recreation of tribal significant customs.

Fourth, although members' selective sociality characterises TCs with no obligation for membership continuity, loyalty to the TC through continued participation in repetitive rituals is high. Sustained commitment and continuous loyalty to the TCs ranged from three years for Tom to 18 years for Ken (Appendix 8). Loyalty is attributed to members' solidarity in an enchantment of their respective traditional tribes, identities that are inseparable from those of the interviewees.

6.7 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has presented findings from the interviewees which support the conclusion that traditional tribes coalesce first around a shared belief in tribal customs of mutual significance. However, the interviewees also self-select their sociality even when a shared tribal extraction

is existent. The chapter explores interviewees' experiences of TCs comprising members drawn from traditional tribes.

Four prominent forms of TCs emerge from the findings, with the link being a mutually shared allure to long-established tribal customs. The chapter explains why the emergent marketplace collectives are conceptualised as TCs. With that established, it then explores how consumption is manifested in the TCs, subsequently justifying their depiction as tribes-constituted consumption collectives that have aspects of assemblages. The defining characteristics of these TC types are established based on the richness of data gathered. The findings highlight three prominent phenomena, although they somehow overlap. First, it is shown that imagined tribal identities shape consumption practices, where individuals coalesce with others to acquire and display tribal cultural capital, subsequently acquiring social capital from tribal customs' discerning others. This includes partaking in recreating and performing traditional tribal customs and practices and seeking to attain social status in society through conformity to and asserting tribal identities that are sometimes used for socio-economic networks.

Second, practices are adjusted to suit modern realities, such as through TCs like the pan-tribal collective, where tribal differences diminish and modern needs for networking and access to social capital and economic capital pursued. The harmonisation of tribal and the modern through boundary-crossing of meanings also occurs in the TCs.

Third, tribal customs' conformity to challenge and negotiate gender's place in a modernising and changing tribal society. For example, women-only TCs comply with tribal customs, but once compliance is attained and displayed to discerning others, elevated status in the tribe accords them tribal cultural and social capital. These TC types also empower members socially and economically. Gender-based TCs also emerge in response to modernisation changes that create a rivalry between genders. These key findings will now be critically discussed in chapter 7 to draw out contributions to knowledge.

Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the prominent themes emerging from Chapters 5 and 6, critically examines how the findings address the research questions and explores how these themes relate to the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. Hence this chapter clarifies how, why and to what extent research participants in Kenyan tribal society uses consumption to affirm tribal identities. By doing so, it also seeks to comprehend how the consumption characteristics of consumers who coalesce together within a modernising tribal society compare to the theoretical claims of western consumer tribes. The discussion draws on the theoretical lens of Practice Theory and the notion of cultural, social and economic capitals (Bourdieu 1977; Goulding 2017), the concept of consumer tribes (Cova and Cova 2001, 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007, 2012), the notion of consumption collectives and the assemblage theory (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 2000). The discussion examines how consumers in the emergent theme of tribally constituted consumption assemblages (TCAs) negotiate consumption and affirm tribal identities while unpacking motivations behind the affirmation of tribal identities through TCAs in modernising Kenya. The discussion revolves around the three prominent themes that emerged from the data presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

First, TCA phenomenon are discussed as the self-selected platforms within which collective re-enactment of re-negotiated tribal customs happen. The impetus for TCAs is critically examined, exploring why people are attracted to them in their various formations. The discussion examines how consumption practices are negotiated within TCAs, alongside how and why tribal meanings are appropriated onto modern goods. Through this discussion, I address the research question of how the key theoretical principles that underpin consumer tribes compare to a tribal society that consumes. The motivation to ascribe membership to gender-based TCAs is given specific attention and critically examined. The discussion of gender-based TCAs is followed by a critical assessment of how TCAs act as spaces within which tribal cultural capital is sought and, once acquired, used to bargain for social capital that is subsequently exchanged for economic capital. By critically discussing this theme, I address the research question of what the consumption characteristics of consumers who coalesce within Kenya's modernising tribal society are, and how their consumption compares to those of consumer tribes.

Second, the affirmation of tribal identities through diverse consumption practices is critically unpacked. It is found that this involves expressive practices by interviewees of their declared ancestral tribal customs, which they revealed are typically collectively re-enacted. By critically discussing this theme, I address the research question of how, why and to what extent a tribal society uses consumption to affirm tribal identities.

The third theme that emerged from data analysis is boundary-crossing where the tribally constituted world of meanings and practices transcends into the modernising tribal society through the TCAs and subsequent accompanying practices. Here, critical exploration shows that some aspects of tribal customs embody human agency, and this is then manifested through conspicuously displayed consumption practices to acquire tribal cultural capital. For example, some traditional dowry objects like 'njohi' that are nowadays replaced with modern goods.

7.2 Conceptualising TCs as tribally constituted assemblages

It is compelling to conceptualise traditional tribes that communally consume within tribal collectives (TCs) as tribes-constituted consumption assemblages (hereafter TCAs). The author did not embark on this study searching for assemblages, but instead approached the study of traditional tribes with an interpretivist and constructionist mindset (Tadajewski 2006), to explore how consumption happens within coalescences of tribes situated within a modernising Kenya. Helped by interpretive consumer research studies that view consumption as happening for a variety of reasons, this thesis adopted the CCT perspective about the need for consumer culture 'theoretics' (Arnould and Thompson 2007). This term (i.e. theoretics) indicates the need for pluralism rather than foreclosure to explore, understand and explain consumers' lived worlds as disclosed through their interpretation of it. Therefore, the notion of assemblages is one appropriate lens applied to understand and explain disclosed consumers' interaction with consumption objects, such as those of tribal cultural significance and their networks with others in their lived world.

Tribal collectives are conceptualised as TCAs for four main reasons emergent from the findings. First, TCs appear to have aspects of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) assemblages because, at the individual level, members are not typically related at the personal level but at the TC-level, such as G2 or G7, where they constitute a new whole. Members are primarily drawn

together by a shared passion for recreating customs of a long-established tribal past, but afterwards, they engage in a variety of shared consumption practices. At the wider society-level, Kenyans appear to generally share a collective tribal identity consciousness. Within the TCs, members are drawn prominently by a shared passion for tribal customs whilst also engaging in collective consumption, hence their conceptualisation as TCAs because there is an assemblage and consumption at the same time.

Second, like the concept of assemblages, which are depicted as wholes constituted of heterogenous parts (Guattari and Deleuze 2000; Hoffman and Novak 2018), the tribal collectives discussed exemplify inherent inter-relationships consisting of movable parts that can shift and be replaceable within other bodies. For example, the gatherings of tribal people from different regions of Kenya's tribal society coalescing within G4 and G6 bring together diverse customs which are remodelled to create a new whole that enhances members' experiences. Also, within the collectives, tribal people of different ages and genders, professions, tribal customs and kinship dispositions coalesce to form wholes at the micro-social level.

Third, aspects of assemblages are evident in the object-consumer interrelationships that form new wholes, such as the ritual goat, with its own capacity depending on the occasion and the meaning it is imbued with by members of the different collectives. Like the object-consumer assemblage postulated by Hoffman and Novak (2018), a seemingly ordinary goat produces new capacities enough to establish and enhance non-kin relationships once interconnected with membership of TCAs.

TCAs, while uniting members by a mutual belief in tribal identities, are nevertheless subject to shifting within the broader macro-social level as the differences steer members to different pursuits. For example, the different TCA conformations with aspects of tribal culture as a unifying factor while shifting, depending on gender or power preferences. Like the notion suggested by Deleuze and Guattari (1988) in assemblages drawn on by researchers such as Canniford and Shankar (2013) and Hoffman and Novak (2018), the tribal collectives appears to have a subject-object network relationship where both exist as a whole to produce new capacities. The tribal customs and associated objects of tribal significance interact with those re-enacting tribal customs of a long-established past to create TCs regardless of geographical separation from tribal regions. The emergent TCAs produces new capacities and hybrid cultures, such as in the G4 where traditional tribal rivalries are subsumed by the TCA or the G1 where

traditional gender roles are re-interpreted to allow women support their husbands and fulfil dowry customs.

For the TCs, a network exists between the individual members (subject) and the material tribal cultural resource (object). In Chapter 5, we saw that the individual is only tribal if the objects and cultural meanings that characterise a tribe are together (e.g. geographical region, cultural objects). Neither exists as a tribe without the other since the tribe is a collectively shared consciousness and the objects only attain tribal significance through meanings imbued into them. The cultural meaning must be in the object that the subject believes accords a tribal significance, such as the ritual goat discussed in Chapter 6. Stripped of cultural meanings in the objects, geographical spaces and practices, the subject would ordinarily lose its leaning on tribal identities unless they have embodied them, a role the TCAs plays through establishing interconnections and relationships between various bodies. Therefore, TCAs create new capacities. Within TCAs in modernising Kenya, tribal cultural practices and meanings are re-invented by the coalescence of tribal people with the shared consumption of tribally significant goods which unifies members. So, the consumption practice alongside the tribal cultural objects collectively constitutes felt tribalism in modernising Kenya. Tribal culture-consumer assemblages emerge as spaces where traditional tribal customs are re-enacted and reconciled with modern realities to keep the belief in tribal identities relevant.

The TCAs are held together through regular gatherings during which members collectively re-enact some unifying rituals and afterwards revert to their normal lives. Hence, TCAs possesses some aspects of DeLanda's (2006, 2016) heterogeneous assemblages where previously unrelated objects and parts can work together momentarily through a process of interaction of the different parts, potentially producing new capacities while retaining their autonomy, akin to Hoffman and Novak's (2018) consumer-object relationships where smart objects interact with each other to create consumer experiences.

In the diverse assemblage types, consumption emerges as a shared appeal within the TCAs. For example, consumption encourages assemblage members to experience their socio-historical heritage together or because of some other mutually shared reason for consumption, be it social, cultural or economic. Notably, some overlap occurs within the assemblages, such as the emergence of assemblages made up of members from the same traditional tribe but also distinct assemblages by gender even when within the same tribe.

To echo Buchanan (2017: 5), ‘assemblages always strive to persist in their being’. So, like the assemblages characterised by Buchanan, the tribal gatherings attempt to maintain the network of the subject (human agent) has with the tribal objects such as geography and material resources attributed to tribal identities.

7.3 TCAs and tribal cultural capital

A noticeable difference between the western consumer tribes and the TCAs studied here is that the latter appear to subsume marketplace goods into their tribal customs, where the shared passion for marketplace goods is secondary to their enchanted tribal customs.

Regarding the pursuit of tribal cultural capital and women-only TCAs, once tribal cultural capital was acquired, these women re-negotiated their social status among significant discerning tribal others, while paradoxically challenging their acceptance of a patriarchal tribal system. For example, by fulfilling their dowry obligations to their parents (Mugo and Wandere 2016; Wamue-Ngare and Njoroge 2011) (see section 5.5.4), the women earned an enhanced tribal social position by demonstrating their conformity to a tribal doxa (Bourdieu 1977). Through their conformity, they also subjugated the patriarchal tribal structures to tribal customs because the patriarchal tribal system not only failed to deliver but took from them in fulfilling dowry customs.

This claim of female interviewees conforming to tribal customs then challenging patriarchy is warranted because long-established tribal dowry customs involved men as both the donors (from the bridegroom’s side) and recipients (from the bride’s side) of dowry gifts (Kenyatta 1938/2015). Thus, the emergent phenomenon of women sponsoring their own dowry (Kanogo 2005; Kenyatta 1938, 2015) departs from habituated tribal traditions, partially not aligning with the notions of habitus and doxa postulated by Bourdieu (1977). This shift suggests that tribes are generative, even as members pursue cultural capital, with tribal customs being adapted to suit modern times. It is no longer presumed that women depend and rely on their husbands to fulfil this tribal requirement. Economically active and educated, empowered women in modernising Kenya are challenging a tribal narrative that had endowed husbands with a position of power by using the dowry gifts to obligate others on the woman’s behalf (Kinyanjui 2012, 2014; Mwiti and Goulding 2018).

Thus, by fulfilling their dowry customs, the women freed themselves from the risk of subjugation that the dowry obligation posed. By conforming to a tribe's accepted dowry practice, these women paradoxically perpetuated their subjugation to common practice, suggesting that only women ought to have dowry gifts presented to their parents' and extended family and not the men. Once again, the importance of tribal cultural capital to the broader tribal society is suggestive of the tribe subsuming the individual and subsequent TCAs. It is compelling to conclude the existence of a shared passion across gender to maintain the concept of tribes within Kenya's modernising tribal society. Also, cultural capital is used to negotiate social and economic freedom. However, this presents differently depending on the TCA type one chooses to belong to, as displayed in Figure 7.1 below.

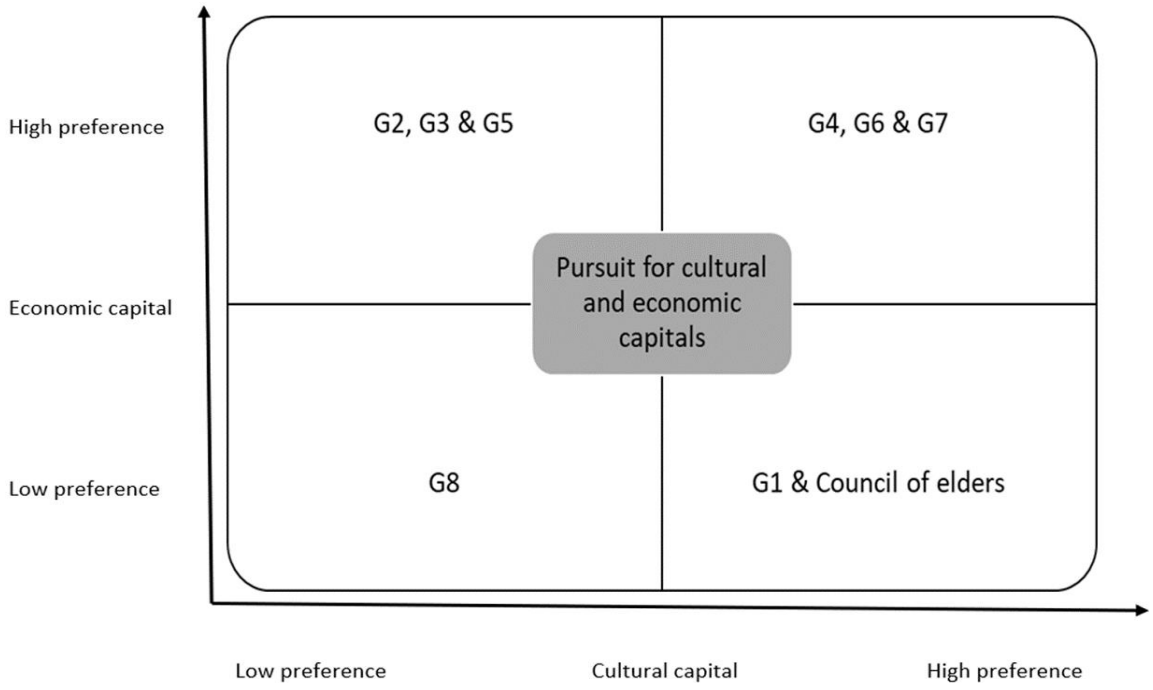

Figure 7. 1: Tribal cultural capital and economic capital
Source: Author (2019).

The figure positions the different TCAs based on what the findings indicate as the importance of tribal cultural capital to interviewees and the importance inferred to economic capital. The positions are indicative rather than drawn to scale and so the author recognises the fluidity in assemblage's positions, more so, given that tribes appear to be evolving.

The acquired tribal cultural capital in the form of recognition for compliance to tribal customs is exchanged for social status within the TCAs, akin to social capital (Goulding 2017). For example, Tom claims that he joined G4 because he wanted to socialise with elderly men and get recognition as a tribally conforming young man because 'if you want them [the elders] to take you seriously you need to demonstrate maturity, not dressing like the young men in Nairobi'. Tom indicated that the elders' recognition is essential because it affords him business links. His disclosure appeared to suggest that being a tribal custom-conforming young man elevated his status within G4 and among the elders, which transcended into social links culminating in good economic sense as a young stockbroker and businessman (see Appendix 8). Thus, we can infer that boundary-crossing also happens from a tribal world of meanings where conformity to tribal customs is revered and into the modern marketplace, where consumption practices transcend traditional tribal boundaries. The result is boundary-crossing, which is unpacked in a subsequent section.

7.4 Affirming tribal identities

The phenomenon of affirming tribal identities emerged in Chapter 5 as the consequence of a collectively shared belief that certain characteristics and practices, when combined within a given social setting, affords one a tribal identity. Those who share this understanding of their self-disclosed tribal identities communally enact the characteristics and practices that they believe to be their legitimate identity. Communal enchantment of tribal identities leads those sharing this belief to collectively re-enact what they see as representations of their tribal traditions of a long-established ancestral past.

The phenomenon of affirming one's identity through various practices is widely discussed in the literature, although to the author's knowledge, none so far applies this understanding to traditional tribes. For example, Goffman (1959, 1978) claimed that people in society generally care about how others view them and, therefore, to create favourable impressions of themselves they engage in actions of self-preservation. This impression includes aspects of the self and self-schemas that comprise people's sense of who they are and what they want others to discern of them (Goffman 1959, 1978; Kettle and Häubl 2011; Lewicki 1984). Within consumer studies, researchers such as Belk claim that consumers affirm their identities by extending themselves into the consumption of physical objects (Belk 1988) and virtual spaces (Belk 2013).
Chapter 5 indicated that consumption practices are commonly used to display collectively re-enacted and shared understandings of this tribal past and to affirm tribal identities. Through

practices such as tribal dowry and performances such as gender role re-enactment, interviewees expose their willingness to not only collectively imagine and re-enact, but also to display to others through their conspicuous practices what they envisage to be their tribal past. This attraction to affirm tribal identities appears to be rooted in the context of Kenya as a tribal society (KNBS 2009, 2019; Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango 2015) which attributes importance to tribal identities to demonstrate one's authenticity (see Chapter 1, sub-section 1.2.1). With modernisation encroaching (Business Daily 2018c; Gachino 2011) and the colonial legacy widely remembered by Kenyans (Kanyinga 2009; Kinyanjui 2009; Thiong'o 1986, 2009), one's demonstration of tribal identity affords one legitimacy through tribal cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977; Goulding 2017; Karanja 2003; Kenyatta 2015). Thus, the lure to demonstrate one's conformity to what is locally understood as legitimate tribal cultural capital influences the phenomenon of affirming tribal identity.

The interviewees expressed their feelings about their respective tribes, negotiated and perpetuated through both physical and virtual spaces. Through selective sociality, they chose with whom to re-enact rituals collectively and repetitively, including reciprocal goat-eating. Within subsequent TCAs that represent different customs, the manifestation of conformity to tribal values among discerning others from whom one expects favour takes place. Through this conformity, the human tribal agent perpetuates presumptions of their traditional tribal identity of a long-established past. However, even as the tribes seek perpetuation of recreated customs from a long-established tribal past, the interviewees also exemplify aspects of the modern tribes discussed earlier in Chapter 2 (Maffesoli 1996: 27; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007) and consumer tribes (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). For example (sub-section 2.3), there is communal consumption through a self-organised marketplace of coalescing consumers with a shared mutual passion for a marketplace good (Canniford 2011; Cova and Cova 2001, 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007, 2012; Otnes and Maclaran 2007, 2018). Like the traditional tribes and TCAs in this thesis (Chapters 5 and 6, respectively), the consumer tribes coalescence with those sharing mutual interests is comparable to the collective consciousness observed by Durkheim (1912) – a need occurring within human society – and is shared by both traditional tribes (Mbiti 1969) and consumer tribes (Maffesoli 1996, 2007; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). Nonetheless, unlike the consumer tribes described by Cova and Cova (2002), Cova, Kozinets and Shankar (2007), and Canniford (2011), the practices emerging from the findings, while seemingly mundane, nevertheless demonstrate distinct traditional tribe characteristics, such as:

- belief and participation in dowry practices to symbolise one's tribal identity;
- reciprocity in a myriad of gift-giving and exchange practices as evidence of one's unity with the tribe in honour of ancestors;
- belief in producing a brother-like relationship with non-blood relatives through goat sharing practices akin to 'co-creating' kinship bonds;
- belief in mutuality of existence through the collective consciousness of 'felt tribalism'; and
- belief in 'tribal foods', typically shared to mark different occasions.

The above characteristics served to affirm tribal identities are like those characteristics discussed in the literature as defining traditional tribes (Chapter 3, section 3.6). Drawing on the findings from Chapters 5 and 6, the appropriateness of likening Western society's marketplace consumer behaviour to traditional tribes (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007) while omitting real tribes in their studies is a contestable proposition. If Western consumer tribes are trying to re-enact their archaic tribal past through coalescing around a marketplace product, as claimed by consumer tribes researchers, such as Cova and Cova (2001, 2002), then their characteristics differ from traditional tribes. For example, Chapter 5's findings indicate that traditional tribes distinguish themselves and are distinguished by others based upon their tribal characteristics that are typically empirical, such as dowry customs and other ritual practices (section 5.2). Thus, empirically, the findings challenge the consumer tribes proposition that likens western consumer behaviour to traditional tribes because the traditional tribes' characteristics are dissimilar from the conceptualisation of consumer tribes summarised in Table 2.1.

Whereas both traditional tribes in Kenya and Western consumer tribes are engaged in the communal consumption of goods for which they share a mutual passion, traditional tribes do so to re-enact and affirm their collectively understood tribal identities. Thus, traditional tribes' re-enactment is unlike the motivation for Western consumer tribes discussed in Chapter 2. To examine how the affirmation of tribal identities in modernising Kenya happens, three examples are drawn from Table 4.3 that support the theme of affirming tribal identities These are unpacked in sub-sections 7.4.1, 7.4.2, and 7.4.3.

7.4.1 Affirmation through enduring customs

Chapter 5 revealed that interviewees with avowed tribal identities manifest what they understand to be their authentic tribal identities through diverse practices. This section focuses on one prominent practice – dowry customs – and its associated performances, such as collectively perceived reciprocal gift exchange and meaning appropriation to affirm tribal identities.

Chapters 5 and 6 indicated that expressive consumption practices are used primarily because interviewees seek to affirm and perpetuate tribal identities at the macro-social level (broader tribe and wider Kenyan society), micro-social level (within their chosen TCA) and at an individual level. Thus, practices such as dowry and reciprocal gift exchange are re-enacted to assert interviewees' socially constructed practices that maintain presumptions of idealised tribal identities, a phenomenon proposed here as 'felt tribalism'. Felt tribalism describes an evolving state of collective consciousness where individuals within a social group manifest and perpetuate their collectively shared understandings of a tribal identity through practices.

The felt part of this tribalism is not based on the natural sciences' generally understood sense of physical feeling, but on the socio-cultural buddle of individual and collective emotions that interviewees disclosed as reasons why they felt tribal (Chapter 5, section 5.2). The main components of tribal identity that interviewees indicated afford them a claim to their named tribal identities are summarised in Figure 7.2.

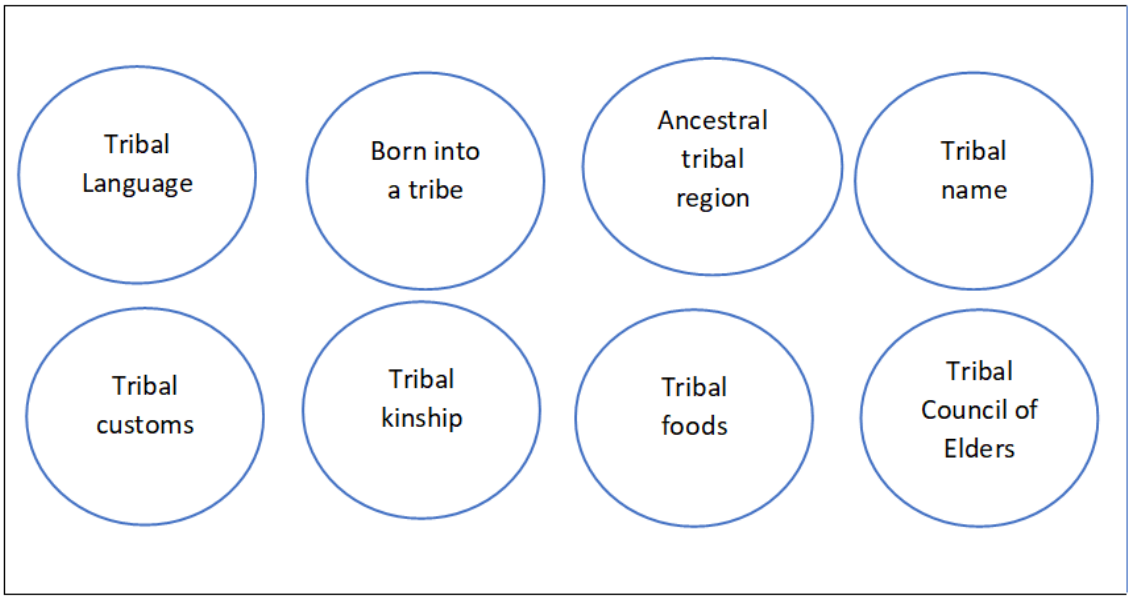

Figure 7. 2: Disclosed reasons for self-describing by a tribal identity

Source: Author (2019).

The emotions surrounding interviewees' tribal identities, for example in Chapter 6, were significantly raised during the monthly gatherings, triggering a desire to re-enact traditional tribal practices, subsequently asserting a collective sense of felt tribalism. This tendency was prominently practised by interviewees when with others who could decipher the tribal meanings embedded in their practices (such as in sub-section 5.5.1). This public display of consumption practices can be likened to symbolic consumption (Baudrillard 2016; Hirschman 1981, 1985; Schouten 1991; Trigg 2001; Veblen 2005). Here, conspicuous consumption was imbued with inherent consumption practice meanings akin to McCracken's (1986) claim of consumer goods being meaning receptacles.

With modernisation, urbanisation and a move from tribal regions into larger cities, the ancestral tribal region appears to be diminishing as an essential element for tribal identity. The tribal region is thus less enduring. Figure 7.3 illustrates this emergent phenomenon where the geographical region of ancestral origin is diminishing in importance in as far as Kenyan tribal identities in modernising Kenya is concerned.

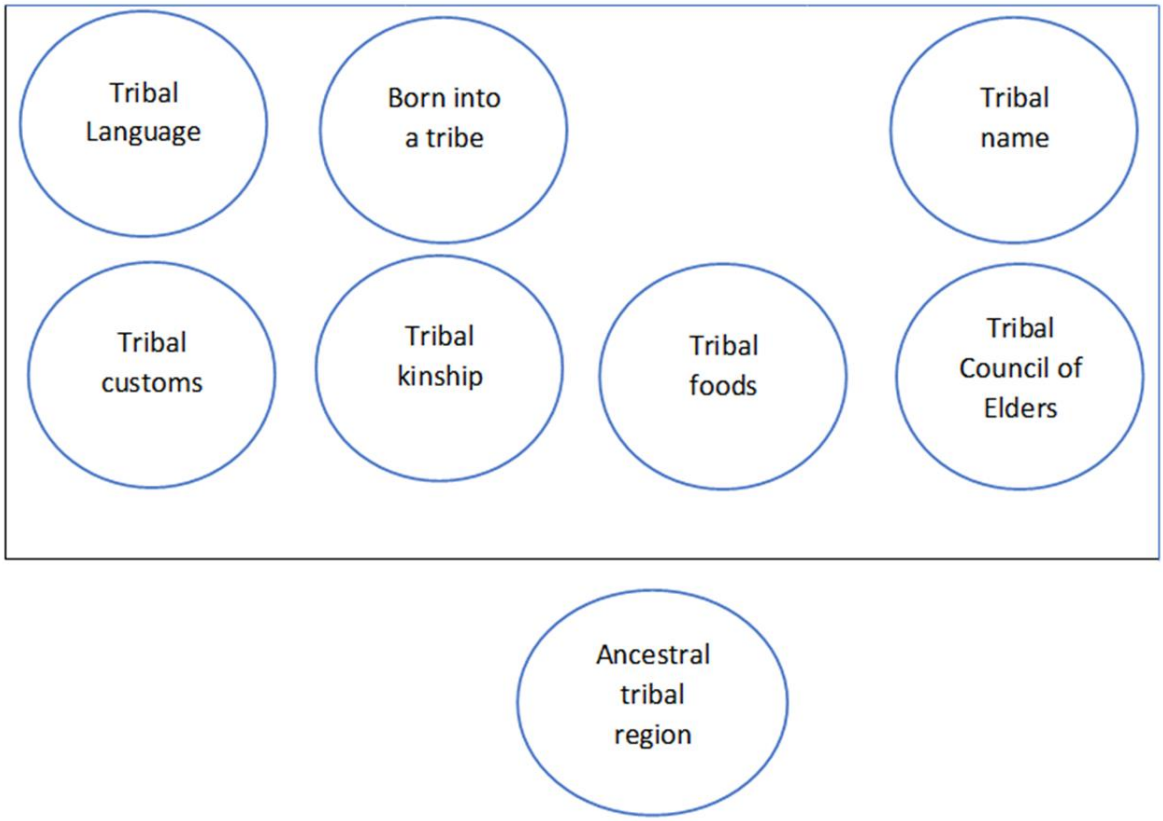

Figure 7. 3: Self-described tribal identity – Ancestral tribal region of origin not important
Source: Author (2019).

As tribes find themselves moving away from their ancestral tribal regions due to modernisation and sometimes separated from tribal kin, the desire for re-enacting tribal customs is amplified. The desire to keep tribal traditions relevant in a changing environment leads to evolving tribal practices to accommodate the dynamism of modernising Kenya. For example, although an ancestral tribal region of origin was necessary to afford one a tribal identity, nowadays this aspect is less critical in one's self-description as a tribal person. This is evident in the interviewees' narratives, such as those of Charity, Dom, Kigu, Jackeline, Matt and Paul. Despite the decline of an ancestral tribal region being a defining characteristic of tribal identity, other customs and consumption practices reinforcing a named tribal identity appear to thrive. For example, Dom claimed to like consuming food and music associated with his ancestral Luo tribe; 'us Luo's we love Omena and Ugali' (sub-section 5.2.1). Paul chose to coalesce with tribal kin in Nairobi with ancestral roots in central Kenya. Here, they recreated cuisine collectively understood to be his Kikuyu ancestors' food: ' I choose Kikuyu foods when I am here [Nairobi]… we also eat the likes of *matharu* to remember our [tribal] roots'.

Interviewees like Dom and Paul exemplify a tendency akin to symbolic consumption (Bonsu and Belk 2003; Hirschman 1981; McCracken 1986), where consumers adopt consumption tastes because of what these tastes communicate about them to those capable of interpreting the symbolism. TCAs may be used at the micro-social level for the re-enactment and display of individually felt tribalism to discerning tribal others. The display of collectively understood meanings of a seemingly mundane act yet imbued with significant tribal meanings is akin to what Bourdieu (1984) depicts as distinction through taste. Thus, tribal identity in the Kenyan context is a construct that exists not only in the visible objects, but as an enduring aspect in the consciousness of those who collectively believe in its existence and are capable of adapting its interpretations. Therefore, the affirmed tribal identities are not exempt from habituated dispositions of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial experiences, nor the individual and collective interpretations of these experiences. Instead, tribal identities continue to evolve as society progresses and, as several interviewees revealed, as society develops from modernisation, the diverse coalescing of others united by a shared passion for different aspects of tribal identities emerges.

Figure 7.4 is an illustrative summary of disclosed and observed influences of the various TCA conformations within which aspect of tribal identities are re-enacted. In the figure, the antecedents to the advent of TCA appear to be widely shared across different TCAs, although paradoxically, the TCAs are not homogenous (Chapter 6). Instead, TCAs sharing a similar societal context are heterogeneous, akin to Deleuze and Guattari's notion of assemblages (1988).

Figure 7.4 displays prominent drivers to the re-awakened desire for affirming tribal identities that subsequently lead to the emergence of different types of TCAs (Chapter 6, section 6.2). For example, colonialism is widely thought to have disrupted aspects of tribal culture (Crehan 1997; Deng 1997; Kanyinga 2009; Lonsdale 2015; Thiong'o 1986, 2009) an this appears to have influenced some interviewees' wish to re-assert their tribal identities as a way of demonstrating to discerning others their defiance of colonial influence. Kat illustrates this re-asserting of tribal identity in defiance when she states that *'mwacha mira ni mtumwa'* ('those who abandon their heritage are slaves'). Her views are echoed by Gemma who states that 'we were Kikuyu first even before the colonialist brought us this religion', thus alluding to her reasons for affirming her tribal identity (sub-section 5.5.5).

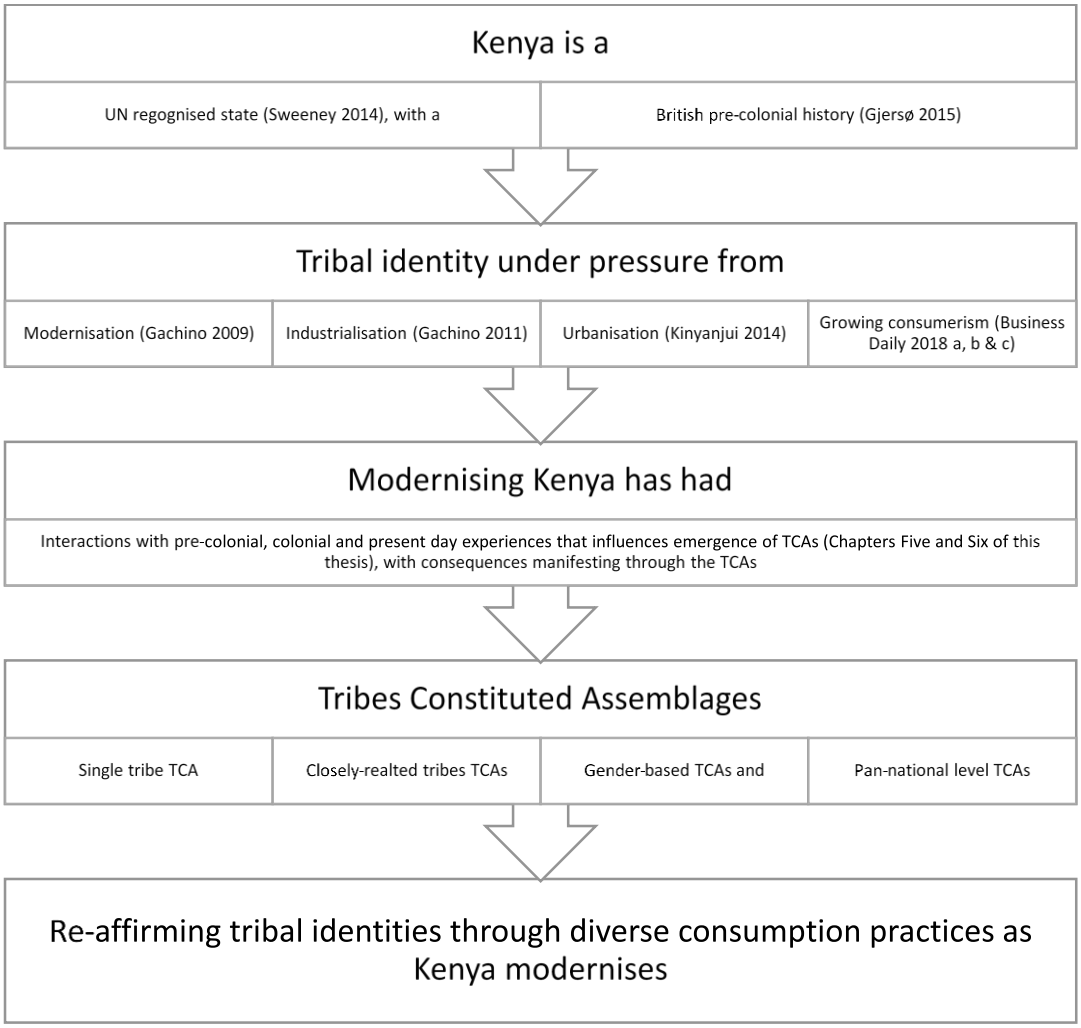

Figure 7. 4: Different TCAs and modernisation

Source: Author (2019).

Modernisation also influences the interviewees to pursue affirmation of their tribal identities. For example, aspects of modernisation such as industrialisation and urbanisation (Business Daily 2018a, c and d; Gachino 2011) has led to people moving from their ancestral tribal regions into larger cities, thereby separating them from their tribal kin. This displacement and subsequent influence of practices are exemplified by disclosures from interviewees such as Nancy, Charity, Matt and Patrick, whose desire to affirming tribal identities appears to emerge from their desire to keep their tribal customs relevant while away from their ancestral tribal regions (section 5.2).

Recent research in consumer behaviour studies claims that when consumer routines are disrupted, consumers will typically seek a return to their habituated routines (Phipps and Ozanne 2017; Schiele and Venkatesh 2016). For example, Schiele and Venkatesh (2016) illustrate how

Japanese youth consumer subcultures used consumption practices to reclaim meanings and group identity in the face of western culture infiltrating Japan through modernisation. Here, a group identity (such as Harajuku) is re-negotiated, re-claimed as authentically Japanese and subsequently sustained once control is regained through re-asserting Japanese authenticity. Phipps and Ozanne's (2017) exploration of how the taken-for-granted routines of everyday lives create a sense of security to individuals which indicates that when consumer routines are disrupted, such as through commodification, consumers chose a return to a predictable world. This happens through their performances of embodied habituated practices (Phipps and Ozanne 2017) akin to Bourdieu's (1977) and Giddens's (1984) conceptualisations of conditioned practices that afford the human agent feelings of security. These examples appear similar to the interviewees' expression of their felt tribalism, where their socially conditioned aspects of tribal identities are collectively perceived to exists and so communally actively sought for affirmation through the display to discerning others, possibly intended to afford one tribal cultural capital.

7.4.1.1 Embodied felt tribalism

Felt tribalism plays a pivotal role in the manifestation of tribal identities. Felt tribalism occurs when the human agent internalises and embodies collectively perceived and discerned tribal customs. Figure 7.5 illustrates this phenomenon, where the author's conceptualisation of the precursors to felt tribalism manifest through TCAs which overlap in their affirmation of identities as discussed in section 7.3.

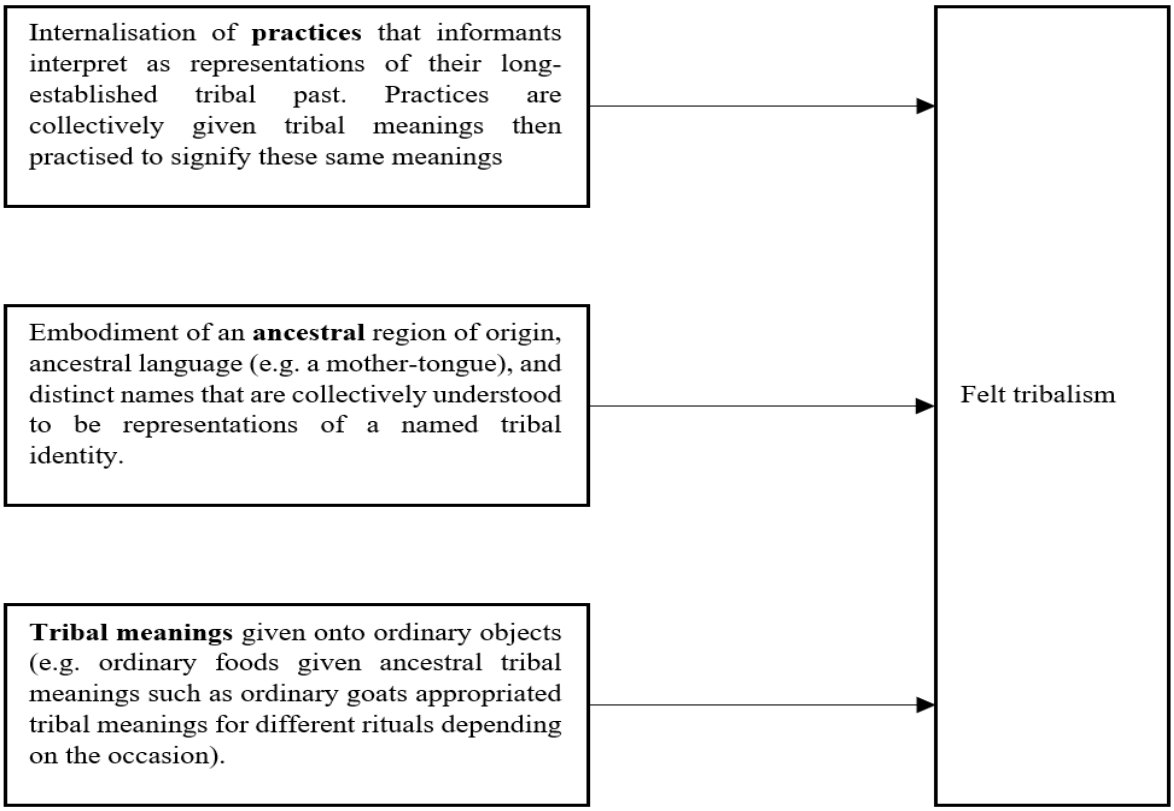

Figure 7. 5: Antecedents of felt tribalism.

Source: Author (2019).

Prominent motivators for felt tribalism manifesting are summarised below:

- informants' presumptions of connections to a bygone ancestral past when tribes roamed diverse regions of Kenya (hence tribal regions);
- the performance of practices that the informants interpret as connecting them to past tribal customs;
- tribal meanings appropriation onto goods before consumption yet primarily consumed for the same appropriated meanings; or
- all three combined to manifest felt tribalism.

Felt tribalism is collectively discerned when people are exposed to the same conditions of dis-position. Consequently, felt tribalism is also manifested within TCAs by individuals sharing a similar passion for re-enacting traditional tribal customs. By interpreting and re-interpreting tribal customs within a modernising context to suit interviewees' present needs, the TCAs not only emerge but also evolve. TCAs become tribes in their own right through the possession of both aspects of the modern context and tribal customs alike, creating distinct values within the assemblages.

The values of emergent TCAs orientate members (Bourdieu 1977), and appear to be evolving to become distinct assemblage customs that distinguish one from another, akin to what Goulding (2017) argues happens when consumers are subjected to similar dispositions. The distinctiveness of each TCA aligns to DeLanda's (2006, 2019) theorisation of the heterogeneity of assemblages. Felt tribalism also appears to influence the behavioural practices and attitudes of interviewees, creating strong loyalty towards one's broader tribe at the macro-social level and to one's TCA at the micro-social level (sub-sections 5.2.3 and 6.2). Bob, Elijah, Jackeline, Ken, Kigu and Nancy illustrated this tendency with their preference for socialisation and business networks first accorded to assemblage members.

This tendency to socialise and favour one's tribal kin over others is commonly associated with tribalism and the mutuality of being (Arnould 2017; Kenyatta 1938; Mauss 2002; Sahlins 2011; Weiner 1992). Unlike the western consumer tribes which Cova and Cova (2002) depict as being held primarily by a shared passion for marketplace goods, otherwise described as the 'linking value' (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012), TCAs coalesce due to their shared mutual passion for re-enacting enchanted tribal practices and collectively shared felt tribalism. Evidence of mutually shared felt tribalism was revealed by the interviewees' specific disclosures and observable practices throughout Chapters 5 and 6 and summarised in Figure 7.6.

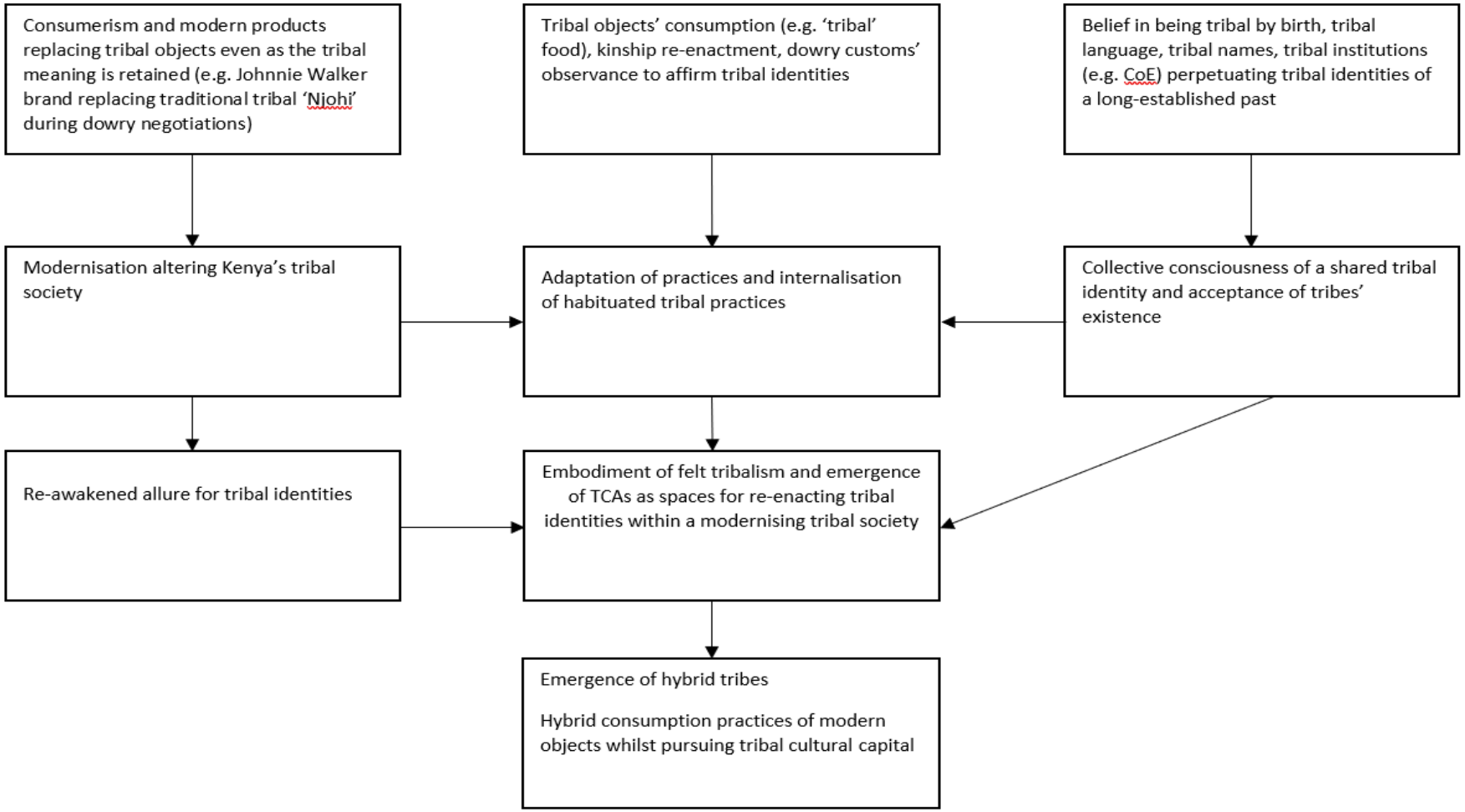

Figure 7. 6: How consumption manifests from felt tribalism.

Source: Author (2019).

Figure 7.6 displays the interplay between:

- Modernisation pressures (tribal Facebook pages, urbanisation, economic empowerment of women and changing gender roles, modern brands appropriated tribal meanings etc).
- The emergence of tribal assemblages (socialisation pressure within assemblages, validation by others hence conformity accompanied by public display and affirmation of tribal identities, the attractiveness of social capital and its related benefits, etc).
- Tribal society habituations (dowry practices, tribal foods, tribal names, ancestral beliefs, etc).
- The desire for acquiring tribal cultural capital and its accompanying benefits.

These factors appear to encourage interviewees to pursue, embrace and display their felt tribalism, becoming apparent through asserted traditional tribal customs and adapted consumption practices. It is reasonable then to conclude that felt tribalism influences consumer behaviour.

7.4.1.2 Dowry practice as an exemplar of felt tribalism

Although dowry is discussed elsewhere in this chapter, this practice is used here to demonstrate how a collectively perceived custom is internalised and manifested as communal felt tribalism. In the Kenyan context, dowry is a collectively revered practice which both the literature (e.g. Kenyatta 2015) and interviewees indicated to be a mutually shared act that legitimises the practising human agent to discerning others as an authentic tribal person.

Dowry practice follows tribally-derived meanings and customary rules (such as those disclosed by Joana, John and Matt) and revered acts that afford one social recognition and status among a tribal society. For example, returning to Matt in Chapter 5, we saw how conspicuously displaying his fulfilment of the dowry custom to tribal others made him feel. Through publicly displaying his adherence to the practice, Matt states that he is ‘ well qualified to look after their daughter and so earn honour from friends and men’ (sub-section 5.5.1). Joana also indicated her widely shared views on dowry and its sacredness among her Kikuyu tribe. Such is the importance of the practice that she had to financially assist her husband to fulfil their tribe’s expectations. By doing this, Joana helped her husband earn respect through the fulfilment of a revered tribal custom (Kenyatta 1938; Kanogo 2005).

Dowry practice, therefore, helps them express their felt tribalism among tribal others, a characteristic not shared by western consumer tribes (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). The enduring nature of this custom also aligns itself with typical characterisations of tribal behaviour where it is common for tribal customs to endure (Bourdieu 1977; Kenyatta 1938/2015; Southall 1970). However, despite the heterogeneity of TCAs, the dowry practise appears to prevail as a pivotal determinant of one's conformity to defining tribal characteristics and, thus, a source of revered tribal cultural capital.

7.4.2 Tribal institutions and perpetuation of tribal heritage

Chapter 5 revealed a re-emergence and perpetuation of the Tribal Council of Elders (CoE) through physical and virtual platforms. The CoE acts as a locally discerned legitimate structure to strengthen the tribe's heritage, while also acting as a recognised legitimate structure representing tribal matters at the macro-social level. Considering all the tribes in this study had a CoE, it is persuasive to infer that these social structures are typical characteristics of Kenyan tribes. This inference echoes anthropological and sociological studies depicting traditional societies being held together by social structures collectively perceived and locally accepted as legitimately existent (Giddens 1997; Heilbrunn 2017; Kenyatta 1938/2015; Lévi-Strauss 1969, 2008; Parsons 1951, 1969; Wallendorf 2017). Social structures within a given society are also widely thought to condition its members to accept certain social positions relative to those of others in the same society (Giddens 1997; Heilbrunn 2017; Wallendorf 2017). This acceptance encourages society to develop tastes that are collectively interpreted as supporting the achievement of a desired social position within that society, akin to what Bourdieu (1984/2010) postulates as a judgement of taste.

Using French and colonial Algerian culture as his context, Bourdieu (1984/2010) argued that people possessing high cultural capital typically become recognised in their society as capable of determining what constitutes good taste within their social field. Their high cultural capital accords them social positions that those with low cultural capital look up to and accept. Therefore, whatever those with high cultural capital choose becomes a source of distinction and a legitimate demarcation between those who have access to the indicators of good taste and those who do not (Bourdieu 2010).

Applying this line of reasoning to the tribal CoE, we can conclude that it gives those holding positions within them high tribal cultural capital, allowing them to act as custodians for tribal culture (section 5.3). The recognition of CoEs by the Kenyan government and acceptance by wider Kenyan society suggests that Kenyan society still reveres tribal cultural capital. This inference may explain the phenomenon where, as Kenya modernises (Business Daily 2018c; Gachino 2010a and b), a desire for traditional tribal practices also happens. This challenges the general assumptions underpinning modernisation that supposes convergence towards mostly western cultures and institutions as a country modernises (Adas 1989; Appadurai 1996; Berger 2003; Giddens 1991; Inglehart and Baker 2000; Rostow 1959, 1990). In consumer behaviour studies, consumption convergence has been said to happen in emerging markets skewed towards western societies through social influences of consumption trends (Dholakia and Talukdar 2004). In Kenya, we see modernisation and tribalism as parallel spaces where tribal people can switch codes depending on the capital sought. For example, Kenyan tribes pursue aspects of traditional tribal culture even as the country modernises. Kigu's example shows why tribal institutions such as the CoE are still revered in a modernising Kenya (see also Appendix 7.1.3.2: G4). The combination of a desire to maintain tribal cultural capital and the realities of modernising Kenya creates hybridity in consumption negotiated within TCAs. Kigu illustrates the importance of an institution rendering tribal cultural capital while still embracing aspects of modernisation, such as social capital exploitation for economic capital gain within G4.

The literature suggests that once social structures become collectively accepted within a given society, a presumed doxa is produced (Bourdieu 1977). Hence, a tribe's social structures, such as the CoE, further harness tribal habitus (Bourdieu 1977). Acceptance of the structures by tribal members and subsequent habitus will influence one's judgements regarding tribal cultural capital, as Kigu exemplifies (Bourdieu 1984/2010). This acceptance of structures, habitus and tribal cultural capital is also evident in the displayed tribal consumption practices that are performed to publicly affirm tribal identities (Bourdieu 1977, 1984; Goulding 2017). This tendency is widely shared across all the tribes represented in this thesis. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that re-enacted social structures from a bygone tribal past are used in modernising Kenya to affirm a collective tribal consciousness.

7.4.3 Ancestral origin and consumption practices to affirm tribal identities

Interviewees revealed diverse tribal identity beliefs while also revealing the need to assert their identities. For example, Dom said that he actively pursues Luo tribe consumption practices that represent his belief in his ancestral origin to affirm his own tribal identity. This consumption belief includes types of foods that he has been conditioned to infer as typical Luo foods and to listen to Luo music (sub-section 5.2.1).

Dom's example is not isolated, but rather widespread across the dataset. For example, Paul opines that being a Kikuyu also means partaking in perpetuating Kikuyu heritage, like his imagined Kikuyu tribe's ancestral cuisines within his G7 assemblage. His assertion that '[we are] here together not because we don't have homes … but we want to share together our Kikuyu ways like our ancestors used to' – exposes the role a belief in ancestral origin plays in the consumption practices within modernising Kenya. Paul chooses to coalesce among those who share a similar passion for re-enacting an ancestral tribal past. Through this, he believes that he and others are honouring their ancestors.

Other interviewees confirm Paul's disclosure. For example, Joana and John from G1 both claimed that they coalesced with others because they wanted to recreate and experience ancestral tribal cultural practices while away from their tribal areas. Among other practices, both had conformed to dowry customs following the tribal customs of gift exchange skewed towards the parents and family of the bride, a practice associated with their ancestral past (Kanogo 2005; Kenyatta 2015). Here, we see interviewees perpetuate their ancestral tribal practices indicating that, even with modernisation, the desire of some aspects of traditional tribal past continues to be sought after. We also see enchanted tribalism influencing interviewees to assemble with others sharing a similar passion for tribal heritage and practices. Consequently, TCAs act as podiums for re-enacting, reproducing and collectively sharing objects and imagined practices representing respective tribes.

The interviewees differed from western consumer tribes because they enacted their felt tribalism, engaging in consumption practices that they imagine legitimise their traditional tribal identity. This is unlike the western consumer tribes, where members do not recognise themselves as tribes. Instead, it is the consumer researchers and marketers who define consumers as tribes

(Canniford 2011; Canniford and Shankar 2007; Cova 1997; Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Cova and Pace 2006; Goulding and Saren 2007, 2009; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013). However, even with enacted tribalism influencing pursuit for tribal heritage, consumption within TCAs goes beyond the tribal customs to encompass non-tribal significant goods. Thus, whereas the desire to assemble is the shared mutual passion for ancestral tribal customs and practices, once this is attained, negotiation for other consumption practices is pursued (see section 6.5). It is possible that social conditioning happens not just within the macro-social level of the broader tribe but also the micro-social level TCA in line with the literature reviewed in Chapter 3.

The literature shows how society can condition its members to unquestioningly accept certain practices as norms (Bourdieu 1977, 1984; Nicolini 2011, 2012, 2016; Schatzki 1997). Having attained a presumed normalisation within a given society (Bourdieu 1977, 1984; Nicolini 2011, 2016), practices tend to be viewed by society members who understand the collective meanings appropriated to these practices as a form of capital (Bourdieu 1990; Goulding 2017). This can be cultural, social or economic (Bourdieu 1979, 1990; Schatzki 1997; Nicolini 2011, 2016). Where these forms of capital are recognised as such within a given social group (Nicolini 2011, 2016), members within that group actively seek to acquire them for individual and collective social recognition (Arsel and Thompson 2011; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013). It is credible, then, to infer that interviewees such as Dom, Joana, John and Paul, pursued certain consumption practices because Kenyan society conditioned them to accept certain practices as legitimate markers of tribal identity. Whereas all interviewees had the freedom to pursue significant tribal consumption privately, they all chose to display their tribal practices publicly, indicating their individual and collective desires to be seen by others as tribal compliant. This accorded interviewees recognition among discerning others, hence the inference of pursuing tribal cultural capital. This inference is like conclusions by consumer researchers such as Arsel and Thompson (2011); Coskuner-Balli and Thompson (2013) and Woermann (2017), who argued that consumers can engage in joint consumption and use acquired cultural capital to bargain for other social needs.

Applying Bourdieu's (1977) ideas, consumer researchers have argued that the theory of practice departs from focusing on the individual and logical explanation of social order towards

performances as a joint social accomplishment (Woermann 2017, 2018). More importantly to this study, they have shown that consumers can use and manipulate acquired capital to negotiate for diverse needs important to them and their collective good (Arsel and Thompson 2011; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013). It is plausible to infer that interviewees' affirmation of tribal identities through the TCAs is akin to performances as a joint social accomplishment (Woermann 2017). This typically happens among discerning others, akin to symbolic consumption (Bonsu and Belk 2003; Hirschman 1981; McCracken 1986).

This study agrees with Arsel and Thompson's (2011) supposition that consumers can protect their identities from marketers' influence. Protection of consumer identities happens because people's 'habituated predispositions' rarely change much because consumers perpetuate them through integration 'into the practices through which consumers materially, affectively, aesthetically and intellectually relate to the social world' (Arsel and Thompson 2011: 804). This line of reasoning reflects this thesis's findings. For example, consumers coalescing to teach younger women how to perform tribal roles while rejecting aspects of modern society, such as Gemma and Kat (section 5.5.5). Other interviewees coalesced to perpetuate dowry practices and associated gift exchange practices, such as John's disclosure (section 6.2.1), and online perpetuation of tribal values with calls for a return to tribal ways of life and associated consumption practices, such as Jack, CoE websites, Dom, and Paul.

Interviewees in this study were able to find meanings in and affirm what they believed to be their long-established tribal practices within a modernising context. This implies the possibility of tribal customs thriving and remaining relevant today as parallel spaces alongside modernisation.

Alfred, Joana, Kate, Matt and Paul indicated that they conformed to tribal customs to assert their identities by demonstrating to others their tribal compliant practices. However, Tom wanted to be compliant to negotiate social recognition within their TCAs. Indeed, being recognised as tribally conforming by those able to interpret the displayed and practised customs as representations of one's ancestral tribal past is significant enough to motivate his behaviour. Thus, the acquisition of tribal cultural capital akin to Bourdieu's cultural capital (1977), attracts

interviewees to not only engage in practices believed to represent ancestral tribal past, but also to parade their tribal customs within and beyond TCAs.

Interviewees' practices to affirm their tribal customs also echo a study by Phipps and Ozanne (2017). Although devoid of any mention of traditional tribes in their study, they noted consumers' re-alignment of their practices to re-establish feelings of security through conformity to normalised societal routines, akin to Bourdieu's (1977) habitus. Here, Phipps and Ozanne (2017) claim that normalised consumer practices offer consumers some form of security. Hence, consumers actively seek routines that offer predictability to their social world. The authors postulate that habitus, when absent, creates feelings of insecurity. Insecurity is produced when elements of practices are misaligned, leading consumers to search for a return to predictable routines akin to Kenyan tribes' divergence to tribal customs as modernisation and consumerism grows (Business Daily 2017, 2018 a and c; Gachino 2009, 2018b). Following this line of reasoning, it is conceivable that modernisation in a post-colonial Kenya creates conditions that make some interviewees, such as Joana, presume that their tribal customs are under threat from modernisation, hence the need to publicly recreate and reaffirm tribal identities.

Interviewees' disclosures, typified by Callum, John, Matt, Nancy and Steve, indicated that being in urban centres far away from their tribal areas of origin diminished their ability to partake in their tribal customs. Urban centres are entwined in modernisation (Gachino 2009, 2011). The presumption that it threatens habituated tribal customs partially motivates some interviewees to pursue tribal cultural capital for display and consumption practices, affirming their imagined tribal identities. This partially supports why traditional tribes thrive and TCAs arise, akin to Phipps and Ozanne (2017) observations. These TCAs differ from the western consumer tribes primarily because of why they arise and the differences in their linking value (Cova and Cova 2002). In sum, the findings indicate that ancestral tribal connections, when re-enacted, accorded interviewees tribal cultural capital, thus enhancing the use of acquired tribal cultural capital to negotiate for recognition.

7.5 Boundary-crossing

Boundary-crossing from the tribal constituted world of meanings into Kenya's modernising marketplace occurs through TCAs. This refers to tribal meaning appropriation to consumption

goods, customs and practices with a traditional tribal past being used in a modernising society to determine the nature of relationships among people. For example, boundary-crossing is evident in the dowry gift exchange practices (sub-section 5.5.4); gender-based TCAs (sub-section 6.2.2), and pan-national level tribal TCAs (sub-section 6.2.2.2). Faced with an unfamiliar modernising society driven by consumerism, consumers appear to revert to tribal meaning appropriations to modern goods to make sense of the unfamiliar modernising society (Arsel and Thompson 2011).

7.5.1 Boundary-crossing during dowry practices

During dowry ceremonies, it is customary in Kenyan society to exchange gifts (Kanogo 2005; Kenyatta 1938). Generally, dowry gift exchange tends to be skewed towards gifts going to the family of the bride (Kenyatta 1938/2015). Traditionally, livestock such as cattle and goats were given in exchange for the bride who herself became part of the family of the bridegroom (Kanogo 2005; Kenyatta 2015; Walsh, Jefferson and Saunders 2003).

As Kenyan society modernises, dowries appear to be changing, with money replacing gifts (sub-section 5.5.4). In addition, during dowry ceremonies, it is customary to have traditional beverages made from honey and local herbs for the men and locally-made fermented porridge for the women (Kenyatta 2015). These have now been replaced with international alcohol brands such as Johnnie Walker whisky, local alcoholic brands such as Tusker beer and for the women, soft drinks such as Fanta and Coca Cola.

While branded alternatives have replaced traditional gift exchange objects, the symbolism remains, the bridegroom's family demonstrating their appreciation for the gift of a bride. Joana, John and Matt claimed that the gifts given to the family of the bride during dowry ceremonies are necessary tribal customs indicating one's conformity to the tribe and an essential demonstration of one's tribal identity and a source of tribal cultural capital. Thus, through boundary-crossing from the tribal world of meanings, with customs and symbolism remaining even with modernisation, the consumption objects have changed.

7.5.2 Boundary crossing within women's assemblages

Boundary crossing is also evident in women-only TCAs. For example, women interviewees suggested that they were homemakers and, therefore, took the lead in decision-making regarding matters such as utensils bought for the home and home furnishings. The idea of the woman as the homemaker stems from tribal habituated norms (Karani 1987; Kenyatta 1938; Muriuki 1972; Muriuki and Sobania 2007; Musalia 2018). However, this habituated tribal belief (Karani 1987; Musalia 2018) was manifested through modern consumption practices. For example, women-only TCA members bought each other imported utensils in place of the traditional gourds to serve food to family and visitors. Again, a modern item appropriated a tribal meaning and was indicative of a tribal woman's expected homemaking and hosting skills (Kenyatta 2015; Musalia 2018). For example, Gemma disclosed her preference for silver European-made utensils, suggesting that this helped her to demonstrate her success among significant tribal members.

In these examples, despite the objects of symbolism being replaced with modern ones, symbolism remained with the woman as the homemaker (Kenyatta 2015; Musalia 2018) but demonstrating her status through quality utensils. Here, we see a seemingly mundane act of decision-making about household utensils as indicative of boundary-crossing. This finding further reinforces Bourdieu's (1977) and Nicolini's (2014) suppositions that we may be able to understand social groups through their ordinary mundane acts. This seemingly simple act of deciding which utensils to use in the home allows tribal women to assert their position in their home and wider society. Such actions help to perpetuate a tribal narrative through their practices and endow modern home consumer goods with good taste (Bourdieu 2013). Even as boundary crossing happens, the women-only TCAs maintain distinctive gender roles that uphold tribal identities. For example, as discussed in section 5.2.5, young women were taught the appropriate gendered values and behaviours by older TCA members. Gemma's and Kat's disclosures of these values imparted to young women within their TCA indicate the boundary-crossing of values from a tribe's constituted world of meanings into modern TCAs.

7.5.3 Pan-tribal level boundary crossing

Boundary-crossing also occurred within pan-tribal TCAs (sub-section 6.3.3). For example, within the male-only TCAs, tribal men not necessarily related by kinship coalesced around a

shared passion for recreating cross-tribal old customs. This TCA united unrelated members from multiple tribes, thereby maintaining itself through regular collective reciprocal acts, akin to the 'Kula ring' reported by Malinowski in his 1922 study of the Trobriand tribes in Papua New Guinea. Here, the fear of being ostracised for breaking the cycle of continuous reciprocal gift-exchange created a self-sustaining cycle. Arnould (2017) opines that reciprocal gift-exchange among societies where this practice is collectively understood and shared maintains social relationships. Thus, the findings of this thesis partially align with those of Arnould (2017), Malinowski (1922 cited in Berman 1996) and Mauss (2002).

For instance, in these regular TCAs gatherings, members shared foods imagined as representations of their tribal heritage. Food sharing was prominently illustrated by the slaughtering and sharing of goats, which the interviewees claimed replicated the practice of their tribal ancestors. Ken, Kevin, Tom and Kigu claimed that goat sharing was about more than just the meat, but recreated and established kinship outside of one's blood relatives. Through this seemingly ordinary practice (Bourdieu 1977), kin-like relationships (Sahlins 2011, 2013) were established and harnessed, with assemblage members giving each other support in a myriad of ways, such as in business networks, opportunities and social support in times of need, akin to the Kula ring (Arnould 2017). Here, coalescing members collectively created distinct values for their TCA, values that new members were conditioned to accept as the TCA's norms. These indicated a progressive social construction of the TCA as a unique entity distinguished by its values. The social construction of these values and norms among TCA members' relationships is parallel to traditional tribal behaviour, hence the supposition that boundary-crossing happens.

The findings also revealed how reciprocal gift-giving is perpetuated through a ring of sponsoring the monthly meetings where members volunteer to provide goats, akin to what is imagined having happened in the tribal past. Reciprocity emerged as pivotal for the assemblage's continued existence (Arnould 2017). Within the Women TCAs, reciprocity was demonstrated in a variety of ways, such as purchasing household goods for each other and helping each other when hosting social events. Here, women typically helped each other with the cooking, serving and other related activities for example, when the family in-laws visited. Thus, we can conclude that rituals like reciprocity within the TCA are practised because the interviewees believed it

represented their tribal background and, therefore, was indicative of boundary-crossing and a historical tribal collective consciousness. Thus, boundary crossings occur from a tribal cultural world of meanings into the marketplace through attempting to keep tribal customs alive and relevant (McCracken 1986).

7.6 Chapter conclusion

This chapter discussed the themes that emerged from the findings in Chapters 5 and 6. These themes were examined against existing literature to address the research questions. The discussion addressed the use of consumption practices to affirm the consciousness of tribal identities that are collectively felt. The mutually shared collective consciousness was unpacked and depicted as being influenced by similar tribal habituations. When faced with unfamiliar modernisation, interviewees retreated into their traditional tribes or TCAs where consumption was negotiated through a tribal lens. Thus, this chapter critically explored why tribal people chose to coalesce alongside other tribal people but in diverse conformations, concluding that selective sociality occurs, even within the same tribe. Subsequently, the conceptualisation of TCAs was discussed and justified as an additional contribution to consumer behaviour studies.

The chapter also critically discussed why traditional tribal norms transcended into modernising society through boundary-crossing of meanings, concluding that this occurred due to a mutually shared desire to maintain traditions that allowed for the acquisition of tribal cultural, social and economic capital. This chapter also showed how traditional tribes and TCAs are evolving, where re-negotiation of tribal roles and social positions happens depending on the context and gender.

Chapter 8: Contribution and thesis conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis aimed to explore the consumption characteristics of consumers who coalesce within a modernising tribal society and how their practices compare to those of consumer tribes. This research sought to understand whether, how, and why people within a tribal society use consumption to affirm tribal identities. This thesis also sought to answer the research question exploring whether the key principles that underpin consumer tribes are relevant to a tribal society that consumes? Given the findings presented in Chapters 5 and 6, and the discussion that follows in Chapter 7, this thesis makes a theoretical and practical contribution of significance in conceptualising traditional tribes that consume as TCAs. As discussed in Chapter 6, TCAs are a new phenomenon which, to the best of the author's knowledge, has not been published elsewhere. Through TCAs, we see tribal loyalty drawing consumers together and acting as the linking value. By this linking value, the TCAs share aspects of the Western consumer tribes who are depicted as arising due to a mutual passion for a marketplace product that acts as the linking value (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). However, unlike the Western consumer tribes, TCAs members are essentially drawn by their shared allure for re-enacting enchanted tribal identity of a long-established tribal past.

Like the Western consumer tribes that emerge as Western society's social fabric weakens with modernisation (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012; Maffesoli 1996, 2007), TCAs emergence appears to be amplified as the tribal society of Kenya experiences rapid modernisation (Gachino 2009, 2011a). Findings indicate that TCAs are also propelled by the growing consumerism that encourages consumption practices like those of Western countries (Business Daily 2017, 2018 a, b and c). Both modernisation and growing consumerism are perceived within Kenya's tribal society as a threat to tribal customs, consequently leading some in society to actively pursue a return to tribal customs of a long-established past to assert distinct tribal identities. This phenomenon not only encourages the emergence of TCAs but also positions tribal customs as sacred and much-revered forms of tribal cultural capital to be sought and conspicuously displayed. Sacralisation of consumption and practices has been reported previously in consumer behaviour studies (Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry 1989; O'Guinn and Belk 1989).

This thesis reveals an under-researched phenomenon where conformity to tribal customs of a long-established past is used to bargain for gender positions within a tribal society, particularly through women-only TCAs. Alongside making a theoretical contribution, this thesis offers potential practical contribution revolving around social policy issues where the TCAs present spaces that can be exploited to improve societal engagement while also offering marketing benefits. Consequently, by answering the research questions, this thesis is of vital theoretical and practical significance.

8.2 Theoretical contribution

This thesis highlights the importance of understanding the impact that a society's habituated context has on the research context under investigation. Consumers' response to modernisation is context-specific, and the presumption of consumption convergence as consumerism takes root in modernising countries (Business Daily 2018 b; Dholakia and Talukdar 2004) is a contestable proposition. By studying traditional tribes that coalesce for consumption, this thesis adds to the conversation on consumer assemblages (Hoffman and Novak 2018; Weijo, Martin and Arnould 2018; Woermann 2017) and consumer tribes (Cova and Cova 2002; Cova Kozinets and Shankar 2012) within the domain of CCT (Arnould and Thompson 2005, 2007).

The theoretical contribution emerges from this thesis' conceptualisation of tribes that self-organise to collectively consume through tribal customs - consumer arrangements as TCAs. However, although sharing some aspects of consumer tribes, TCAs are unlike the western consumer tribes, primarily because the allure to coalesce is rooted in members' belief in tribal identities of varying significance to members (section 5. 2) instead of a mutually shared passion for a marketplace product or brand. Tribal identities in modernising Kenya emerges as an evolving state of felt tribalism that exists in peoples' consciousness, occasionally manifesting through their practices (sub-section 7.4.1.1). The tribal identity is not just in the observable practices and cultural objects, but instead, the tribe is also in the shared consciousness of its existence and the practices are just but some of the ways in which the tribal identity manifests.

Although modernisation and consumerism are expanding in Kenya, the belief in customs of a long-established past prevails. However, sometimes the objects of tribal symbolism are

adapted, for instance, the adaptation of the dowry objects and practices to suit modern context (sub-section 5.6.4). This thesis adds to our understanding within the consumer behaviour studies of an under-researched but distinct assemblage type where people sharing an allure to traditional tribal customs coalesce. This assemblage type is also unlike the consumer tribes generally discussed in consumer studies (e.g. Canniford 2011; Cova and Cova 2002; Cova and Pace 2006; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013) because it is sustained by a collectively shared consciousness of felt tribalism. This shared consciousness of felt tribalism bubbles up through communal practices collectively understood to be legitimate representations of the authentic traditional tribal identities. Thus, traditional tribal customs are reenchanted and then re-enacted within a modernising context in deliberately self-selected consumer – tribal custom assemblages, a phenomenon that has not been widely studied. This thesis illustrates assemblages comprised of members from same ancestral tribe only, brought together by mutually shared interest to re-enact re-imagined but enchanted tribal heritage thought to be threatened by modernisation. Here, we see shear imaginations of a shared ancestral past influencing modern socialisation, the conformation of assemblages and consumption practices, subsequently adding onto the conversation within consumer studies that consumers are actors within the marketplace, akin to consumer tribes (Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012). This thesis also makes another contribution by unravelling the existence of pan-national level tribal assemblages, where historical tribal differences are subsumed by modern realities, such as the need to socialise and form business networks in urban centres, away from one's tribal kin. Here, we see pan-national level tribal assemblages acting as social units that offer individuals feelings of and benefits akin to good brotherliness and sisterhood transcending traditional tribal boundaries. This contribution is important especially given the general assumption that Kenya is rife with tribalism (Ndonye, Yieke and Onyango 2015; Nevett and Perry 2001; Wrong 2009). Pan-national level tribal assemblages uncovered in this study challenge this assumption, indicating that tribes adapt and evolve even when faced with modernisation and the tensions of tribal stereotyping.

By focusing on tribal assemblages situated within an under-researched modernising tribal society, this thesis offers additional insight into the blending in of perceived traditional tribal customs with modern realities. The blending in of tribal customs is negotiated within different

assemblage conformations and expressed through consumption practices collectively understood to be representations of authentic tribal identities. Although meanings transfer from a culturally constituted world of meanings into the marketplace is not entirely a new phenomenon (McCracken 1986), this thesis contributes to this conversation by unravelling assemblage types that primarily arise to re-enact, then consume tribal heritage. Additionally, this thesis uncovers boundary-crossing as the tribes-constituted world of meanings find their way into the modern marketplace through the emergent assemblages (Section 6.2 - 6.4). However, TCAs share some aspects of the Western modern tribes (Mafessoli 1996, 2007) and consumer tribes (Canniford 2011; Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007). For example, like the TCAs, consumer tribes are widely attributed to a desire for a return to a pre-modern bygone past when society used to exist as tribes. Also, the re-enactment of this past through coalescing around brands is driven by diminishing social fabric as society expands (Maffesoli 2007, 2012), an aspect similar to TCAs whose emergence is partially influenced by modernisation in Kenya.

However, TCAs and consumer tribes still differ in some respects. For instance, TCA members are linked by kinship bonds – real and recreated kinship bonds, through tribal ritual performances. This is an under-researched phenomenon within consumer studies. Practices performativity to reclaim an imagined loss of identity to modernisation is also a worthwhile additional theoretical contribution, but one that indicates the need for further research. Finally, this thesis also unravelled how tribal customs become embodied and prominently displayed to conspicuously assert imagined tribal authenticity within a modernising tribal society. Crucially, the exposé on TCAs raises important areas for future research, indicated later in this chapter.

8.3 Practical contributions

As already established in section 8.2, this study found that some aspects of consumer tribes are evident within the TCAs although the two are still mutually distinct. As the findings indicate, consumer issues within a tribal society bring into the marketplace TCAs that address aspects of their tribes. This under-researched phenomenon necessitates further future research to explore hybridity in consumption practices within a modernising tribal society.

The emergent TCAs are unlike market segments since as already mentioned in Chapter 5, the informants in this study view themselves firstly as tribes, rather than being labelled as such by

the researchers. Typically, consumers within generally defined market segments do not consider themselves as segments, instead it is the marketers who use diverse variables such as demographics, socio-economic, and psychographic factors to determine a segment (Kotler et al. 2016). So, TCAs in this study do not fit into this marketing description of a segment. Consequently, this thesis makes a practical contribution for marketing practitioners and social policymakers who wish to distinguish the typically understood market segments (Kotler et al. 2016) from what this author submits as self-described and self-selected TCAs. By recognising what first draws tribal people to assemble into TCAs while still within a tribal society, marketers, and policy makers can now incorporate tribal customs (of significance to the tribes) in their efforts to enhance engagement with consumers. Although there is a paucity of published work on tribes and marketing in practice, a few studies have indicated that tribalism can influence how marketing stimuli are interpreted by consumers, such as in Nevett and Perry's (2001) study of how tribalism affected marketing promotions - concluding that tribalism influenced the interpretation of advertising messages in Kenya.

This thesis also reveals the existence of gender-based consumption assemblages in Kenya. Gender and consumption within a modernising tribal society is an under-researched phenomenon. Prominently under-researched are women and consumption within marginalised communities. However, recent studies appear to have picked on this under-representation of women and consumption to address this imbalance. For example, Kinyanjui (2014) whose work examines the use of Chamas to economically empower women in Kenya; Lindridge, Penaloza and Worlu (2016) who investigated how Nigerian immigrant women in the UK used patriarchal bargain for empowerment by tying in their consumption to their husbands. Most recently, Mwiti and Goulding (2018) explore the use of Chamas as spaces where marginalised women in the slums of Nairobi tackle poverty and gender issues in search of female empowerment within a patriarchal society (Kameri-Mbote 2006; Kandiyoti 1988; Kanogo 2005). It seems that women issues in Western societies receive more research attention than in non-western tribal societies (e.g. Goulding and Saren 2009; Thompson and Üstüner 2015; Thompson, Henry and Bardhi 2018).Therefore, a vital practical contribution from this thesis and relating to women-only TCAs revolves around integrating gender-specific approaches to marketing and social policy in recognition of the changing gender roles in modernising Kenya (Kanogo 2005; Karani 1987; Musalia 2018).

Like elsewhere in the world, the gender roles in the tribal society of Kenya are changing particularly regarding how men and women relate (Musalia 2018). Thus, this thesis makes a vital contribution given that evidence from the findings indicate general recognition of gender as a unique allure to assemble and subsequently how consumption is used, both to challenge gender stereotypes while also perpetuating the same. So, practical significance propositioned is a closer engagement with the gender-based assemblages that can potentially help get the right gender balance and representation in marketing activities. Marketing practitioners should not only align marketing activities to be consumer-inclusive, but also ensure that the changing gender roles in society are accommodated in their marketing strategies. Furthermore, given the study's finding that avowed tribal identities influence the adoption of consumption behaviours presumed to be a representation of tribal customs, it is reasonable to conclude that there are vital benefits in aligning marketing activities to tribal customs.

Finally, all TCAs in this study had as part of their shared customs, a re-enactment of an aspect of collective welfare improvements. Given the context of study – a developing post-colonial modernising society, the findings offer insight into other lines of research and engagement with the type of society represented here. For example, research into and projects aimed at impacting on social mobility and entrepreneurship to uplift the living standards of Kenyans through the TCAs. Therefore, besides making a marketing contribution, this thesis also has the potential for a social research impact.

8.4 Limitations of this study

This research was affected by the political crises that happened in Kenya at the time of data collection following the disputed presidential elections campaign of August 2016 – April 2018 (Cheeseman, Kanyinga, Lynch, Ruteere and Willis 2019). The political crises in Kenya were widely reported by international news outlets such as The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC 2017), depicting the Kenyan presidential elections as having the hallmarks of tribalism. Tribalism and political manipulation are evident in some of the tribal-based websites visited by the author (Section 5.4).

It is generally understood within Kenya and widely reported in the literature that tribalism in Kenyan politics is rife (Ajulu 2002; Gumo, Akuloba, and Omare 2012; Okumu 1975; Orvis 2001; Rutten and Owuor 2009). Presidential elections in Kenya typically heighten tribal rivalries, with tribal alliances created and fiercely defended, often resulting in tribal clashes (Njogu, Ngeta and Wanjau 2010; Wrong and Williams 2009), as was the case during the author's fieldwork (Cheeseman, Kanyinga, Lynch, Ruteere and Willis 2019). The political situation in Kenya made it difficult for the author to visit or interview people in some regions of Kenya. In some cases, the political situation made it impossible for the author to work due to the risk of loss of life where the author's tribal background could be easily identifiable. Consequently, the tribal representation in this thesis is limited to the safe areas the author was able to visit and investigate tribal matters without the risk of loss of life. Furthermore, not all 44 government-recognised distinct tribes in Kenya are represented in this study. Therefore, the findings on the affirmation of tribal identities and TCAs is based on views and opinions derived from informants drawn from nine Kenyan tribes (appendix 7.2 and appendix 8). Moreover, the African continent is home to many distinct tribes (e.g. Ekeh 1975, 1990; Roscoe 2013) and so the customs and practices of Kenyan tribes discussed in this thesis are not necessarily generalisable to other African tribes. So, while the study makes theoretical and practical contributions, the findings are not generalisable.

8.5 Areas for further research

Although this thesis makes several vital contributions of theoretical and practical significance, there are areas this thesis exposes worthy of consideration for future research. First, research into gender-based TCAs to investigate gender-specific characteristics within TCAs is essential because, although this study highlights the importance of gender in the emergence of TCAs, it was not practically possible to explore in detail. Furthermore, the changing role of gender within a traditional tribal society emerges from data but is a phenomenon that has received little attention from consumer researchers particularly in traditional tribal societies. Yet, the changing gender roles can potentially have consumption implications as the different genders bargain and negotiate for their place in society, such as through consumption practices.

Second, related to the first point is research potential to explore whether the allure to women only TCAs are distinct characteristics exclusive to a modernising tribal society or a similar

phenomenon happens within non-tribal societies. This area for further research would be vital to help comprehend the challenges women face in different societies as gender roles change with modernisation. Research into this area can potentially help unravel whether, and if so, how collective action through TCAs can help mitigate women marginalisation in society, an under-researched area.

Third, although this thesis reveals how tribal identities drive the creation of assemblages and consequently shapes consumption, further research in affirmation of identities through consumption would be a vital addition to consumer behaviour studies. For example, research to explore whether and if so, how non-tribal consumers' conditioned identities allure them to coalesce and affirm their identities while shaping their subsequent consumption practices.

Fourth, while this thesis contributes to our understanding of why TCAs arise as the tribal society of Kenya modernises, a potential area for further research is on tribal branding. The affirmation of tribal identities through the same tribe TCAs indicates the importance that Kenyan society attaches to their traditional tribal identities. However, time constraints and original research questions did not allow for the present study to delve deeper and investigate how the tribes at the wider macro-social level, brand themselves to stand out within a modernising and changing society. Therefore, this too is a vital area for future research. The methodological approach taken ensured that no claims to generalisability of the findings are made. The findings of this research are indicative of the everyday lives of specific consumers in Kenya who represent a cross-section of society. Therefore, the findings of this study identified and sought to understand just some of the possible TCAs present in Kenya at this time. It is possible that there are more.

8.6 Thesis conclusion

This thesis sought to critically explore two principal questions: First, how, why and to what extent a tribal society uses consumption to affirm tribal identities? The second question delved on what the consumption characteristics are of consumers who coalesce together within a modernising tribal society and how their consumption stands against those of consumer tribes? Whereas some aspects of consumer tribes were evident among tribal societies represented in

this study, other aspects were unique to societies with a traditional tribal past. Regarding consumption characteristics, this thesis found minimal similarity between the Western consumer tribes and assemblages emergent from tribal societies. Whereas both consumer tribes and traditional tribes engage in consumption within a modernising context, meanings appropriation onto consumption objects were prominently different. Specifically, assemblages constituted of traditional tribes brought into the marketplace aspects of their tribal society, such as customs and tribal meanings onto ordinary goods and practices.

There have been several studies undertaken to explore what is widely understood as anthropologically, traditional tribes (e.g. Douglas 2002b, 2013; Ekeh 1990; Gluckman 2017; Gulliver 2013; Holmes 1997; Kenyatta 1938/2015; Lonsdale 2008a; Sahlins 1968; Weiner 1988). More recently, research has emerged in sociology studies where coalescing groups of people have been described and depicted as modern tribes (Maffesoli 1996, 2016), and within consumer behaviour studies, as consumer tribes (e.g. Cova and Cova 2002; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2007; Goulding, Shankar and Canniford 2013; Mamali, Nuttall and Shankar 2018). However, to the author's knowledge, no published studies currently address how tribal societies co-construct, develop, and affirm their collectively understood presumptions of felt tribalism. Instead, most of the studies typically involve researchers' interpretations of empirical behaviour within the social groups they studied, depicting them as tribal behaviours and subsequently justifying depictions of such social groups as tribes, like consumer tribes. In contrast, this study relies on informants' own description of their own practices as tribal, and subsequently, their own claim that they held and felt a tribal identity that they considered alluring enough to mould their public affirmation of it – hence, felt tribalism. It is plausible to conclude from the informants' disclosures that collectively understood tribalism influences Kenyans to act according to habituated tribal practices to affirm their tribal identities, often manifesting through consumption. What being tribal means to Kenyans is collectively understood by those sharing such consciousness of being tribal. Rather than the author labelling studied social groups as tribes, informants self-described themselves as tribes – an under-researched phenomenon. Thus, it is credible to conclude that the key tenets of consumer tribes are inadequate to explain TCAs. Tribal assemblages are subsumed by felt tribalism while the felt tribalism is subsumed by the wider traditional tribe that accustoms tribal societies. Lastly, unlike with consumer tribes that are labelled tribes by researchers, TCAs consist of people who avow to being tribal.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide and questions for in-depth interviews

Consumer tribes and tribes that consume: *An exploratory study of Kenyan tribes' consumption practices within a modernising tribal society.*

Appendix 1.1: Key areas explored

Research questions:

How, why and to what extent does a tribal society within a modernising country use consumption to affirm tribal identities? (Principal research question – PRQ)

What are the consumption characteristics of consumers who coalesce within a modernising tribal society and how does their consumption compare to those of consumer tribes? (PRQ)

Areas explored:

- Prominent characteristics of traditional tribes situated within modernisation Kenya
- Consumption for harnessing tribal identities
- Characteristics of tribal collectives (hereafter TCs) within Kenya's tribal society

Literature derived themes explored:

Theme 1 (Th1): Drivers to TCs in Kenya.

Theme 2 (Th2): Diverse conformations of TCs within Kenya.

Theme 3 (Th3): Members roles within TCs.

Theme 4 (Th4): Tribal culture's influence on TCs, including influence on member roles and consumption practices.

Appendix 1 continued: In-depth interview guide

Appendix Table 1. 1: Semi-structured in-depth interview guide used

Themes explored	**Interview and discussion:**
1) What are the informants' views on tribal identities? 2) How is consumption negotiated and experienced within Kenya's modernising society? **Procedure followed** **Introduction:** Welcoming informants Explaining research aim and why researcher seeks informants' views Explaining informants' rights such as data confidentiality and anonymisation Issue and gain informants' consent prior to interview commencement	Explore key themes through probing techniques to reveal perceptions, opinions, attitudes and motivations behind informants' actions. Investigate why informants choose to coalesce amongst tribal others Assess roles played by members of tribal collectives and whether such roles draw upon their respective tribal customs Evaluate how tribal customs from an established bygone past manifest within modernising Kenya Examine how and why tribal customs and practices of a long-established past cross-boundaries into modernising Kenya manifested in consumption practices. **Conclusion:** Thank informants for their time and insight into their lived worlds.

Explored: Consumption within TC, roles within, reasons behind emergence of TCs, and their prominent characteristics. The probing adapted to specific situations and therefore the points above are indicative. The language used in interviewing determined how these questions were phrased. The questioning and probing did not follow a specific order but instead acted as a guide to the author – allowing for the natural flow of discussion.

Appendix Table 1. 2: Research questions, interview questions and themes

Linked to PRQ, Sq1 & 2 and research themes	Objective	Question	Literature to back up	Achieved or not? Comments about what was said by interviewee
Sq1 Th1 Th4	Process of joining a TC from the participant's personal experience (Group characteristics). Additionally, what might have influenced this member (Motivations)	Tell me how you became a member of this Chama (collective in English). Or/and What made you want to become a member of this Chama?	Cova and Cova (2001,2002)	
Th4	As above (ditto) Additionally, organisation – control of the membership.	What is the criteria for one to join?		
Sq2 Th3	Group characteristics Roles within the TC – veterans versus novices Socialisation/mentoring of new members Link to traditional tribal ways of life? Power exercise within the group – veterans versus novices.	Are there rules for new and existing members of this group? and Tell me about the member rules.	Cova and Cova (2001,2002) Fournier and Lee (2009) Kozinets (2001)	
Sq2	Personal experience of TC. Personal attributes of interviewee e.g. loyalty	For how long have you been a member?	Cova and Cova (2001,2002)	

Appendix Table 1.2: Continued

Linked to PRQ, Sq1 & 2 and research themes	Objective	Question	Literature to back up	Achieved or not? Comments about what was said by interviewee
PRQ Sq2 Th3	Summary of member, experience within the collective in their own words Member's evaluation of the collective (opinions).	Since you became a member of this collective, what has been your overall experience?		
PRQ	Group characteristics? Search for links?	How often do members meet?	Cova and Cova (2001,2002)	
PRQ	Personal experience Commitment and loyalty within	How often do you attend meetings by the collective?	Cova and Cova (2001,2002)	
Sq1 Sq2 Th3	Group characteristics and group behaviour. Physical and virtual spaces? Who plays which roles?	Where do members of this group meet? and How are members notified of events?	Cova and Cova (2001,2002) Fournier and Lee (2009) Kozinets (2001)	
PRQ Sq1 Sq2 Th1 Th4	Purpose of tribal events through self-organised meetings: any rituals? Collective consumption? Traditional tribal heritage consumption?	Tell me how the Chama/collectives events are organised. and Why are events held?	Bonsu and Belk (2003) Cova et al. (2007) Giddens(1991) Hirschman (1981) Kates (2002) McCracken (1986)	
PRQ Sq1 Th1 Th4	Members' activities, collective purpose and functions. Social or collective consumption? Link through re-enactment? Counter-checking the answers to the previous questions about purpose of the collective.	 Are there special events that mark this Chama collective? Tell me about such events. Or Tell me what happens during Chama events. Or/and How was this Chama founded?	Ditto – searching for hints on symbolic consumption, linking value through collective consumption	

Appendix Table 1.2: Continued

Linked to PRQ, Sq1 & 2 and re-search themes	Objective	Question	Literature to back up	Achieved or not? Comments about what was said by interviewee
Th4	Elements of traditional tribe boundary-crossing into the group (Socio-historic patterning of consumption) Symbolic consumption (social constructions of symbols through meaning-making)	Which language of communication is used during events?	CCT Arnould and Thompson (2005) Belk (1988, p.140) – consumers 'create and express cultural, multicultural, and personal identities through accumulation of material sets'	
PRQ Th4	Foraging for hints about cultural relevant consumption Kinship, 'Linking value' and group harmony Stability Influences to joining a tribal Chama collective (Symbolic consumption)	What do you think is the importance of a member's traditional tribal background in enhancing their participation in this Chama events/activities?	Belk (1988) Cova and Cova (2002)	
PRQ Th3 Th4	Group consumption (cues to Socio-historic patterning of consumption) Evidence of Symbolic consumption? Member roles in deciding what is consumed during meetings/ events. Consumption of traditional tribal foods, attire etc. Is this a consumer tribe, sub-culture of consumption or brand community?	How does the group decide on what refreshments are served during members meetings?	Arnould and Thompson (2005) Belk (1988) Cova and Cova (2002) Schouten and McAlexander (1995) Muniz and O'Guinn (2001)	
PRQ Sq1 Sq2 Th	Member roles (interviewee's traits and behaviour). Personal contribution to the group (commitment).	What do you personally do during these events? Or/and Describe to me your participation in the affairs of this Chama	Cova and Cova (2002) Fournier and Lee (2009)	

Appendix Table 1.2: Continued

Linked to PRQ, Sq1 & 2 and re-search themes	Objective	Question	Literature to back up	Achieved or not? Comments about what was said by inter-viewee
PRQ Sq1 Sq2 Th1 Th2 Th4	Benefits of membership (atti-tudes towards collectives) Interviewee's opinion on the value of self-organised collec-tives.	What do you think is the rea-son why some people choose to join a group such as this one?		
PRQ Th1	Personal experience Personal perception In search of the Social link – 'linking value'	Since you became a member of this group, how has your membership benefitted you?	Cova and Cova (2002)	
Sq2 Th3 Th4	As above and Interviewee's perceived role within this the collec-tive/Chama Kinship and concept of reci-procity. Characteristics of tribal gath-erings Fluidity and ephemerality of group	Describe to me your relation-ship with other members of this gathering And/or What kind of things/ issues do you discuss when with other members (during events)?	Cova and Cova (2002) Sahlins (1972, 2011)	
PRQ Sq1 Th1 Th4	Interviewee opinions about membership to their Chama – linked to motivations to join and retain membership (loy-alty). Symbolic consumption	What new 'things' [e.g. products, issues] have you bought /or learnt about that you can attribute to this Chama? And/or Please describe what new things you have learnt since joining this Chama/collec-tive	Ad-dressed already	

Appendix Table 1.2: Continued

Linked to PRQ, Sq1 & 2 and research themes	Objective	Question	Literature to back up	Achieved or not? Comments about what was said by interviewee
PRQ Sq1 Sq2 Th3	members behaviour within the collective [e.g. consumption] In search of evidence of Symbolic consumption	What brands/products have you noticed being commonly used by members of this gathering? And/or If there is one product/service/issue that you think characterises this group- what would that be?		
PRQ	Interviewee opinion on consumption.	What is your views on foreign made products?		
PRQ Th3	members behaviour (socio-historic patterning of consumption) Symbolic consumption	What (1) products (2) services (3) issues (4) activities consumed or used by members of this gathering to historical traditions of your tribe?	ditto	
PRQ Th3	Interviewee behaviour [e.g. consumption]	What personal adjustments/ changes have you made as result of your experiences within and membership to this collective?	ditto	
PRQ Sq1 Sq2	influence on consumption choices while within the collective (individual traits, behaviour) If no change, then why join a gathering? – 'linking value only?'	Tell me about any purchase that you have made which can associate to your memberships? Or/and Describe to me your choice of purchases (1) before (2) [and after] you became a member?	ditto	

Appendix Table 1.2: Continued

Linked to PRQ, Sq1 & 2 and research themes	Objective	Question	Literature to back up	Achieved or not? Comments about what was said by interviewee
PRQ Sq1 Sq2	Chama's influence on consumption (interviewee opinions)	In what ways would you say your choice of what you buy has been influenced by your membership to this collective? Or How is your choice/preference of the things/items/commodities you purchase influenced by this collective?	ditto	
PRQ Sq1 Sq2 Th3 Th4	Any 'linking value' e.g. kinship or collective re-enactment of traditional tribal rituals or/and rituals such as during events. Interviewee opinions. Group's stability, fluidity, ephemerality.	What do you think holds this collective together?	ditto	
Sq1 Th3	Characteristics of the Chama. Management of the Chama Cells Structure Member roles and power structures	How many members are in your collective? And How is this collective organised [structured]?	ditto	
Sq1 Sq2 Th4	Counter-checking motivations to join a gathering. Potential traditional tribe's boundary- crossing into marketplace behaviour 'Linking value', tribal solidarity versus tribal chauvinism. Kinship reciprocity – versus – stability gathering loyalty/ephemerality/fluidity	In what ways would you say being a member of [given] traditional tribe influences your activities within this collective?	ditto	

Appendix Table 1.2: Continued

Linked to PRQ, Sq1 & 2 and research themes	Objective	Question	Literature to back up	Achieved or not? Comments about what was said by interviewee
PRQ Sq1 Th3 Th4	View of the collective through the 'eyes/lens' of interviewee members (members opinions and perception of their gathering)	What would you say are the distinguishing characteristics of this Chama? or What is unique about it?	ditto	
Sq1 Th3	Foraging for hints about group loyalty Searching for 'Linking value' Ephemerality of the gathering (Interviewee attitudes and behaviour)	How is your relationship with other members outside of events? And Please describe to me.	ditto	
Th2	Interviewee views on in-group and out-group (opinions/perceptions) Pride in in-group and loyalty.	Which other self-organised communal groups are you familiar with? and How would you say these self-organised collectives compare to yours?	ditto	
PRQ Sq2 Th1 Th2	Interviewee opinion and attitude towards gathering.	Why do you think people self-organise into collectives? and What do you think of these self-organised collectives?		

Appendix Table 1.2: Continued

Linked to PRQ, Sq1 & 2 and research themes	Objective	Question	Literature to back up	Achieved or not? Comments about what was said by interviewee
Th2 Th3 Th4	Coalescing and tribal loyalty Possible personal influences to joining Interviewee perceptions of in-group versus out-group (opinions and/or personal attitudes)	How do you think a coalescence such as this one [named] compares to non-tribal based ones?	Not required	
Th2 Th4	Counter-checking why coalescing happen. Foraging for traditional tribal ways of live into market place behaviour. Potential boundary-crossing from traditional tribes into gathering.	What criteria must be followed for a member of another tribe to be accepted as a member ? General information about the interviewee What is your:- Occupation? [----------] Gender? Female [ ] Male [ ] Prefer not to say [ ] Other [ ] Age range? 18-24[ ] 25-29[ ] 30-34 [ ] 35-39[ ] 40-44[ ] 45-49 [ ] 50+ [ ] Where do you live? City [ ] Town [ ] village [ ] ---------- Marital status? Married [ ] Divorced [ ] Separated [ ] Single [ ]	Not required	

Appendix 2: Research Ethics Committee (HREC) Approval

From: Dr Louise Westmarland
Chair, The Open University Human Research Ethics Committee
Email louise.westmarland@open.ac.uk Extension 01908 652462
To: Gidraph Mungai Michuki FBL
Subject: Consumer Tribes versus Traditional tribes that Consume: Tribes-constituted-consumer collectives in Kenya.

HREC Ref: HREC 2016 2363 Michuki AMS ref : Submitted 28/08/16 Decision date 23/12/16

Memorandum
This memorandum is to confirm that the research protocol for the above-named research project, as submitted for ethics review, has been given favourable opinion by the Open University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC).

Please note the following:
1. You are responsible for notifying the HREC immediately of any information received by you, or of which you become aware which would cast doubt on, or alter, any information contained in the original application, or a later amendment which would raise questions about the safety and/or continued conduct of the research.

2. It is essential that any proposed amendments to the research are sent to the HREC for review, so they can be recorded and a favourable opinion given prior to the any changes being implemented (except only in cases of emergency when the welfare of the participant or researcher is may be effected).

3. You are authorised to present this memorandum to outside bodies such as NHS Research Ethics Committees in support of any application for future research clearance. Also, where there is an external ethics review, a copy of the application and outcome should be sent to the HREC.

4. OU research ethics review procedures are fully compliant with the majority of grant awarding bodies and their frameworks for research ethics.

5. At the conclusion of your project, by the date stated in your application, you are required to provide the Committee with a final report to reflect how the project has progressed, and importantly whether any ethics issues arose and how they were dealt with. A copy of the final report template can be found on the research ethics website - http://www.open.ac.uk/research/ethics/human-research/human-researchethics-full-review-process-and-proforma#final report.

Kind regards,
Dr Louise Westmarland Chair OU HREC http://www.open.ac.uk/research/ethics

Appendix 3: Consent form

Participant consent form for this research

Research Project Title	**Consumer tribes and Tribes that consume:** ***An exploratory study of Kenyan tribes' consumption practices within a modernising tribal society.***	
Name	Position	E-mail
Gidraph Michuki	PhD research student	gidraph.michuki@open.ac.uk www.**open**.ac.uk/people/gmm452
Dr. Andrew Lindridge	Supervisor	andrew.lindridge@open.ac.uk www.**open**.ac.uk/people/aml353
Dr. Claudia Simoes	Supervisor	claudia.simoes@open.ac.uk www.**open**.ac.uk/people/cs8435
Institution Contact	The Open University, Faculty of Business and Law Department of Strategy and Marketing. Michael Young Building, Milton Keynes, United Kingdom MK7 6AA. Tel +44 (0) 1908 654 882 Fax +44 (0) 1908 653 999	

Please tick if you consent

1. I _____confirm that I have been informed about the purpose, duration, risks, and benefits of this research project. I have had the opportunity to ask questions regarding my participation in the study and I am happy to go ahead participating [ ].
2. I therefore agree to take part in the above study by Gidraph Michuki [ ].
3. I agree to the interview in the form of: - One-to-one interview [ ] focus group [ ] online focus group [ ] being audio recorded [ ] and notes taken [ ] by Gidraph Michuki. Tick as consented.
4. I agree to the interview [ ] focus group [ ] online focus group [ ] being used for academic purposes by Gidraph Michuki [ ].
5. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications of this research by Gidraph Michuki [ ].
6. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason to Gidraph Michuki [ ].
7. I agree and consent to have Gidraph Michuki joining in and following my Facebook online activities on this named publicly accessible community website [----------].

I also consent to Gidraph Michuki analysing for his research my posts spanning **the last** 3 Months [ ] 6 Months [ ] 9 Months [ ] 12 Months [ ] from the date of this consent [ ].
I consent to Gidraph Michuki following my Facebook posts on the same named above community website above **for the next** 1 Month [ ] 2 Months [ ] 3 Months [ ] after the date of this consent [ ].

8. I understand that there are no foreseeable risks to me and there is no compensation for my participation in this research [ ].

Name of Participant_____Date_____Signature_____

Name of Researcher_____Date_____Signature_____

Appendix 4: Myths (excerpt from Online notes)

Mugumo tree, considered sacred and shrine among the Kikuyu, fell in Nyeri on 19th March 2017 generating a lot of Media attention and comments on Kikuyu blogs with writers speculating that a major incident is about to happen in Kenya. The Mugumo tree that fell is locally believed to be over 300 years old based on handed down information from one generation to another. Claims that the fallen tree is one of a few where prayers were offered to 'Ngai' by Kikuyu ancestors are widely circulated in the KCE Facebook pages and posts on YouTube are also being made. Kenya's Television channels such as K24 (2017a) and KTN (2017) have also sent their journalists to the place where the tree fell to cover the story. Elders from the Kikuyu have gone to offer prayers and sacrifices to 'Ngai'. The claims made by posts and reported interviews with Kikuyu elders claim that a Mugumo tree where prayers to 'Ngai' have been offered do fall in vain. When such trees fall, it may signify a change in leadership from one generation to another like happened 2013 when another similar tree fell, locally seen as marking the generational change of leadership. President Uhuru Kenyatta (a Kikuyu) took over the leadership from his predecessor President Mwai Kibaki (also a Kikuyu). The two Presidents are a generation apart (over 25 years age difference). Posts on YouTube and interviews with elders from Kikuyu tribe also claim that when a similar tree fell in Thika town during the colonial period in 1963, this incident marked the beginning of the end for colonial administration. Journalists are reporting that there is panic among the Kikuyu community (e.g. Standard Newspaper 2017; Kenya National Television Network (KTN) 2017). A video YouTube link to the KTN reports that even Women journalists are not allowed near the site during the cleansing rituals for fear of bad omen. Rituals are therefore performed by men so that nothing bad happens to the community. The men performing the rituals must be elders who must fast for several days before they can partake in the sacrifice ritual to appease ancestors and 'Ngai'. Part of these cleansing rituals involves slaughtering of a sheep without a blemish. Its blood is sprinkled around the fallen Mugumo tree by the tribe's priest accompanied by the fasting elders amid prayers recited in Kikuyu language. Then all the meat from the slaughtered sheep is burnt completely to ashes. A second sheep is slaughtered, roasted at the site and its meat eaten by those participating in the ritual. Anything remaining from the sheep slaughtered including any bones are burnt to ashes. No part of the fallen tree is used for any purpose but rather left to lot naturally.

Appendix 5: Participant information sheet

Participant information sheet about this research

Dear Madam/Sir,

RE: Your views on self –organised collectives within a traditional tribal Society

I am carrying out research which investigates self-organised collectives in Kenya. The reason that I am approaching you to participate is because you possibly responded to my invitation through one or more of the following contact methods:

1. A recommendation from my friend(s) or contact(s).
2. Advertisement on;-Kenya vernacular language radio stations, My Facebook or my contact's Facebook invitation to participate in this research.
3. A meeting I had with you during a Social event we both attended and held a face-to-face meeting during which I invited you to take part.
4. A telephone conversation I had with you and requested your participation in my research.

In order to take part in this research, you must meet **ALL** the six criteria listed below:-

(i) You are over 18 years old
(ii) You have no known illness that renders you mentally vulnerable
(iii) You describe yourself as belonging to a tribe.
(iv) You understand what this research defines as a tribe – i.e. you define yourself as belonging to specific tribe and/or that you believe other people see you as belonging to this tribe.
(v) You understand from my explanations what in this research I refer to as a self-organised collective
(vi) You are a member of a self-organised collective that has members drawn from Kenya's traditional tribe(s).

As part of this research, I am interviewing people resident in Kenya about their experiences, opinions, attitudes towards and views on self-organised collectives comprising members drawn from Kenya's traditional tribes.

To give you an idea of my research, below are key themes I would like to explore: -

1. What was your reason(s) for joining a self-organised collectives? [I am keen to establish your reasons for joining a Chama comprised of members from your tribe].

2. I am hoping to learn from you how this Chama you belong to is organised. For example, do members have specific roles? Is there a central organising committee within your collective? Do you have a specific role you play within this collectives?

3. Furthermore, I will appreciate very much if you will kindly describe to me your commitment to the collective you belong to. For example, concerning your loyalty to your specific gathering that you are a member. I am also keen to understand from you whether you belong to other collectives besides this one.
4. I also hope to establish from you whether your shopping habits have benefitted from your membership to this collective. Supposing this be the case, then in what ways?
5. In addition, help me understand whether you extend your relationships with other members outside of the group's events.
6. Further, help me understand what kind of products and issues you share with others during meetings?

Research Overview
This project purposes to get the views of tribal people in Kenya who assemble themselves alongside their fellow tribal people to form self-organised collectives derived from the mass society. Equally, their subsequent consumption behaviours habits.
The aim of this research is to compare your experiences of marketplace coalesces with similar but not exactly same self-organised collectives of people taking place in Western Europe and North America – Consumer tribes.
My interview and discussions with you might take the form of a face-to-face interview at a mutually agreed place. Depending on your consent, the discussions might further include a group discussion with other informants in the range of 6-12 people at a time and a mutually agreed venue.

I value your rights
In case you do not wish to continue with this research at any point, you are **FREE** to pull out at any point during the interview without an obligation to explain your reasons for pulling out.
As a researcher, I am guided by professional rules and codes of conduct for researchers as stipulated by the Open University code of ethics in research involving human informants [Open University's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC)]. Besides, my research is compliant with the U.K data protection Act 1998 and the Kenya data protection Act 2012.
If the information above is clear to you, and you are happy to participate in this research, kindly give me consent to carry on.

Appendix 6: Author's codes for data analysis

Appendix Table 6. 1: Table Appendix. 6: Thematic codes created, employed, and categories identified

Code	Description of themes
OT 1	Original priori themes (OT1) investigating the key tenets of consumer tribes situated in a tribal society (this is related to research question one -RQ1). Main themes: Search for belongingness: Established through un-directed being together. Stability: Unlike Western consumer tribes, tribal collectives are stable. Amorphousness: In contrast to Western consumer tribes, tribal collectives start as being amorphous but then through repetitive tribal rituals relevant and held as sacred by informants' tribes, tribal collectives evolve to have a structure mimicking structures within the tribe(s) e.g. regarding age group, age set and gender role dynamics. Longevity: members affirming to long-term membership unlike the temporal nature of membership to Western consumer tribes. While Western consumer tribes may by themselves last for a long time, it has been alluded that their members do not join for the long-term (Cova and Cova 2002).
OT 2	Original priori theme two (OT2) investigating tribal collectives' consumption in a modernising tribal society (related to research question two – RQ2). Prominent Emergent themes: - Collective consumption to acquire tribal cultural capital; - Tribal affirmative consumption practices; - Ritual consumption practices of tribal significance to acquire tribal cultural capital; and - Consumption to acquire social capital.
Sub-theme code	Description of sub-theme
OT 1-MOT	Motivation to join (OT1 – MOT) and retain membership to a tribal collective
OT 1-MA	Meanings appropriated (OT 1-MA) to the collectives. What tribal collectives means to the members.
OT 1-MR	Roles played by members within their collectives (OT 1-MR)
OT 1-BC	Evidence of Boundary-Crossing (OT 1-BC) from a culturally constituted tribal Society into the ensuing collectives
OT 1-LC	Members' loyalty and commitment (OT 1-LC) to tribal collectives
OT 1-S	Stability (OT 1-S) of and within the collectives
OT1-MAINCA	Maintaining the collectives, such as engagement in collective activities (OT 1-MAINCA)

Appendix Table 6.1: continued

Emerging theme code relating to original theme (ETROT)	Description of the emerging theme and how it relates to priori theme one
ETROT 1-BNP	Tribal collectives act as podiums for business networking (ETROT 1-BNP)
ETROT 1-DTM	Collectives acting as agencies for divergence whereby, as modernisation expands in a tribal society, a re-awakening and re-enchantment of archaic tribal identity takes place. This divergence attempts to separate the tribal from modernisation. Possibility of tension as informants partially rejects modernisation in exchange for re-enacting and a return to their tribal heritage as a measure of one's achievements. Identify the drivers to and the point of departure from either modern or archaic tribal ways of living (ETROT 1- DTM)
ETROT 1-GOV	Governance, operational and organisation of collectives (ETROT 1-GOV).
ETROT 1-CNB	Collective negotiation and bargaining and decision making within the collectives. Decision making within collectives (ETROT 1- CNB)
Sub-theme code	Description of sub-theme
OT 2 –ECC	Evidence of collective consumption (OT 2 –ECC), common interests in consumption, reasons for collective consumption
OT 2-EPC	Evidence of members link through emotions and passion for that which is consumed (OT 2-EPC)
OT 2-RP	Ritual practice (OT 2-RP) through and in consumption practices
OT 2-MC	Myths creation (OT 2-MC)
OT 2-BTP	Re-enactment of bygone tribal pasts (OT 2-BTP)
OT 2-MAG	Meanings appropriation onto goods (OT 2-MAG)
OT 2-SC	Symbolic consumption (OT 2-SC)
OT2-MAINC	Maintaining the collectives through collective consumption practices (OT 2-MAINC)

Appendix Table 6.1: continued

Code	Description
ETROT 2-NCP	New cultural production through consumption practices or evidenced by consumption practices (ETROT 2-NCP)
ETROT 2-RPTGC	Ritual practice through tribal goods consumption (such as kinship re-enactment mimicking a traditional tribal past rituals for 'blood brotherhood' where goats would be slaughtered and shared amongst those with whom one wants to establish kinship-like relationships but who are not blood relatives.
ETROT 2-MCMG	Myths creation about marketplace goods
ETROT 2-MBCC	Mutuality of being enhanced through collective consumption
ETROT 2-CTTV	Consumption to keep alive traditional tribal values
ETROT 2-DCMT	Divergence of consumption where the modern is blended in through meaning appropriation or replaced entirely with the traditional tribal as an act of rebellion towards modernisation
Code identifier	Theme
ETU-	Cultural capital acquisition for bargaining social capital acquisition to exploit for networks resulting in economic capital - Entrepreneurship
ETU -	Tribal identity affirmation through consumption. Why? – to display one's conformity to their tribes
ETU-	Tribalisation of consumption goods and practices
ETU-	Mutuality of being
ETU-	New cultural production – Women using conformity to tribal customs then re-interpreting their conformity to negotiate for the legitimacy of changing roles of women in tribal patriarchal societies

Appendix 7: Collectives and participants' profiles

7.1 Introduction

This appendix introduces the primary providers of data used in this thesis. First, this appendix presents the coalescing of tribal people who were pivotal in the study because they fit the research aim and questions outlined in Chapter 1. For now, the coalesces will be referred to as collectives. Second, this appendix reports findings of informants' profiles as they disclosed them to the author, firstly by presenting detailed accounts from two informants derived through in-depth interviews on their lived experiences, followed by tabulated summaries of the remaining informants.

Appendix 7.2: Profile of collectives used in the study

This section describes collectives of tribal people purposefully selected for this study. Investigating the characteristics and consumption practices of these collectives involved gathering, collecting, and analysing informants' disclosures about the purpose of their collectives, their structure, and consumption characteristics. All collectives and participants are anonymised in accordance with the Open University Ethics approval. Collectives are anonymised with letter 'G' followed by a number (e.g. G3; G1 etc).

Appendix 7.1.1: G3

This group is given the anonymised pseudonym of G3 for confidentiality purposes. This anonymisation is in line with the promise made to informants and participants in the consent form to not use any identifiable name for individuals or their respective collectives.

Insight into G3 was attained from two members during separate meetings. The insight took place before any G3 members participated in any in-depth interviews.

G3 is an exclusive women-only TC comprising of members drawn from the Kikuyu, Meru, Embu, and Kamba tribes. Informants revealed G3's inception as 1994, initially comprised of around 20 women who resided in the Ruiru[41] region of Kenya. Members initially met at each other's homes on a revolving hosting manner.

Nancy (anonymised pseudonym), was one of the informants into G3, and revealed that she was among the first members of G3. She disclosed that most G3 members are either born in Nairobi

[41] Ruiru is a region adjacent to Nairobi city along the Thika super-highway. Thika super-highway is the largest and most advanced highway connecting Nairobi city and the Central, Eastern and North Eastern provinces of Kenya. The new Thika superhighway was opened in 2012 along what used to be Thika road. Ruiru is within Kiambu county.

or moved into Nairobi and the neighbouring Ruiru region for reasons such as work and marriage. By 2017, G3 membership was estimated to be 150-200 women.

Appendix 7.1.1.1: Purpose

Nancy and Charity (anonymised pseudonym) disclosed the initial purpose of G3 as:

- providing members with each other's company to avert loneliness, and
- to support members during times of emotional hardships, such as bereavements.

As membership grew through referrals and internal recommendations, G3 members ceased meeting at each other's homes and started renting larger spaces around Ruiru town, such as restaurants. By 2017, G3 members were meeting once a month, but in between meeting dates, members linked through a WhatsApp closed group network. Sponsoring G3 events is voluntary, with members encouraged to send their contributions to an appointed member of their organising committee. Contributions are sent via Kenya's mobile phone money transfer platform – M-Pesa.[42] This way, the money contributed to sponsoring their meetings is traceable as every mobile phone in Kenya is registered to one's name.

*G3 nowadays***:** Since its inception, G3 has extended what initially brought the members together to include:

- Providing support to G.E.M.A[43] women members undertaking customary practices such as dowry.
- Mentoring of younger women by those considered experienced elder members of G3. Women considered 'elders' are revered within G3, akin to the broader Kenyan tribes' custom to revere elders. Within G3, women elders were disclosed to be aged 60 years and above and usually had adult children.
- Assisting members with information about imported goods.
- Sharing ideas on domestic purchases, such as household goods.
- Supporting members with investments, sometimes advancing financial support through rotating savings, and credit advancement for members.

[42] M-Pesa is a mobile money transfer platform whereby people can send and receive money to and from each other.

[43] G.E.M.A is an abbreviation commonly used in Kenya to refer to the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru association. This reference was concocted in early post-colonial Kenya when the 1960s and 1970s saw the emergence of G.E.M.A as a platform for social and economic needs of these tribes at the national level (Tarmarkin, 1973).

Appendix 7.1.1.2: Organisation and structure

G3 is informally structured, so no formal positions exist. However, informants explained that the group has eight elderly women, who were nominated by other members owing to their seniority. These eight acts as the principal leadership committee and others consult them on the group's direction. Informants revealed that, everything that happens within the group must receive the elder women's approval. The elder women committee can request other members' opinions on various roles for the group. Organising events for G3 is voluntary although the elderly women can request other members undertake the group's errands as they deem necessary. Thus, while disclosed as an exclusively women-only structureless group, the elder members appear to have more influence over other members bestowed by the tribal custom of revering elders.

Appendix 7.1.1.3: Consumption

G3 member consumption is not restricted to any brand. Members are encouraged to share with others their consumption experiences of different goods and services, such as home improvements products and services. During group events, members choose different refreshments and topics for discussion.

During their monthly meetings, members tend to prefer consumption of foods locally considered as tribal foods (e.g. Mukimo – a type of food made of mashed white maize, pumpkin leaves, potatoes, peas and a type of green vegetable found around Mount Kenya region locally known as 'Kahurura', of which no English translation is known). This Mukimo food is locally believed to have been consumed as a staple food by ancestors of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes. Tea and sodas are common drinks during their meetings. No alcohol is permitted to be consumed during their meetings. Nancy disclosed to the author that *'…it is not respectful for a decent woman to drink [alcohol] like the men do…we have to set the right example for our children at home.'*

Members use a closed-group WhatsApp communication platform to share ideas outside the monthly ritual meetings, managed by volunteer administrators approved by members. When financial contributions are made to group events, members use the M-Pesa money transfer platform, a service that is preferred by G3 members.

The insight into G3 was gained through disclosures from Nancy and Charity.

Appendix 7.1.2: G8 group

Through a contact established in October 2016, the author identified a Ruiru-based mixed-gender collective. Before face-to-face in-depth interviews with informants from G8 (anonymised and pseudonym for confidentiality), the author gathered background information telephonically from three known contacts. The contacts provided insight into G8's purpose, structure, and operations at different times allowing the author to explore.

Appendix 7.1.2.1: G8 purpose

Informants revealed that G8's initial purpose was to cater for the social needs of the 30 couples (60 members) living in a new housing estate near Ruiru town. The 60 were the founding members of G8 and all have ancestral tribal origins from the Kikuyu, Meru, Embu, and Kamba tribes. The social needs disclosed by the three informants were:

- Ensuring members had access to emotional support during times of need, such as when facing marital challenges.
- Joint celebration during special events, such as when members deliver their babies, and when members' children undergo rites of passage into adulthood, for example, their son's circumcision rites.
- Enhancing harmony among G.E.M.A tribes in the area and promoting good neighbourliness to counter social problems, such as drunkenness.

Over the years, the group has expanded its activities to include:

1) Supporting members' business endeavours as a first-choice preference.
2) Discussing business opportunities and promoting products sold by its members.

Appendix 7.1.2.2: G8 structure

Informants revealed that G8 has four distinct member roles. G8 has a committee comprising of seven couples collectively considered as elders due to their age and tribal customs that encourage reverent for elders. These seven are drawn from among the 60 founding members. The roles are volunteer based, offering direction to members, being consulted by others when making decisions about the group's activities. Based on these roles, the committees of 'elders' act as the chairmen and chairwomen. The other structure disclosed is that of organisers. The number of event organisers was given as 20-30 volunteers, typically consisting of younger members aged around 30 years. Their roles are: i) to invite and initially vet new members resident in

Ruiru; ii) search for ideal venues to hold the group's monthly meetings iii) organise refreshments; and, iv) to ensure member meetings run smoothly (e.g. parking, security and seating arrangements).

Other members played the role of information dissemination. Volunteers play this role. Information is distributed through a closed-group WhatsApp platform, a closed-group Facebook page, and physical space information dissemination.

Finally, the fourth role disclosed is that of keeping the group active through regular attendance at group meetings. All members play this role. Those who cannot attend G8 meetings are required to contribute non-attendance sponsorship (money) through M-Pesa and sent to a member of the organising committee. The non-attendance sponsorship is akin to a penalty amount, which whereas voluntary, but is locally seen as a sign of loyalty and commitment to the group's existence. The non-attendance sponsorship is used to finance additional refreshments during G8 meetings.

Appendix 7.1.2.3: Prominent consumption at G8

- Collective observance of G.E.M.A tribes' culturally significant customs, such as wedding rituals, dowry rituals, rites of passage into adulthood and marriage.
- Sharing investment opportunities (e.g. acquisition of land and plots).
- Promoting products within the group, such as Toyota cars and installation of CCTV systems at members' homes.

From this group, the author held in-depth interviews with three members. The interviews lasted for a minimum of 50 to 120 minutes. The three members were Charity, Kevin and Caleb.

Appendix 7.1.3: G4

G4 [a pseudonym for anonymity] is a Nairobi city-based exclusively men-only group with membership open to men from any Kenyan tribe.

Appendix 7.1.3.1: Purpose and overview

G4's core mission is social networking and encouraging business negotiations between members, offering first right of acceptance for any business, service and products to members. G4 aims to create a platform for members to socialise, providing and receiving mentorship from elder members. G4 also endeavours to improve social engagement and contact between

younger men and their elders across different Kenyan tribes. The G4 Facebook platform indicates that G4 hopes members will become the networking forum of choice for young professional men in Kenya who also share a common interest in respecting and maintaining tribal values while embracing a multi-tribal national level social network.

G4 members are expected to be of good standing in their respective tribe and abide by what Kigu described as '…outstanding manly behaviour' (See section Appendix 7.2.1). Members are expected to respect and honour what they collectively agree. Monthly goat eating event is disclosed as rituals that act as a means of communal gathering to reinforce members' bonds, reminding them that they are brothers together in pursuit of a common agenda. G4 goat eating rituals take place each month at the Institute of Primates Research, in a forest adjacent to the upmarket Karen estate within Nairobi County. The present membership is estimated to be over 800.

Appendix 7.1.3.2: G4 structure

G4 has a voluntary core of senior and junior elders[44] who have been collectively agreed upon by members. This voluntary role offers to mentor to younger men, advising them on tribal matters while encouraging conformity to the collective's networking agenda. G4's junior elders play a supportive role to the senior elders, with the latter revered within this collective. A junior elder can adjudicate on a given matter if no senior elder is available.

G4 also has a group of volunteers who play pivotal roles in organising this group's events. These roles are chairman, secretary, treasurer, social media administrators (Facebook and WhatsApp), putting up tents during events, slaughtering and preparing for others the goats, and preparing food for group events. Unless they have health reasons, all members including elders are required to carry 'firewood'[45] for cooking when they attend the goat eating rituals.

Appendix 7.1.3.3: Consumption at G4

Conspicuous consumption at G4 emerged in two categories:

[44] Elders in this context are men who have completed locally comprehended tribal rites of passage into elderhood. There are senior tribal elders (those who have completed these rites and whose children are all adults themselves) and junior elders (those who have completed most tribal rites of passage but still have some of their children under the age of adulthood - typically with children under puberty).

[45] The firewood is a symbolic ritual practice from the bygone tribal past where men would carry real firewood when attending a ritual goat eating event. It was a sign of respect to those who had prepared and cooked the goat since '…a man cannot expect another man to cook for him since no man is the wife of another' (Dom). Therefore, although G4 members re-enact the carrying of firewood to the event, what they carry is not for the actual cooking. Hence, it can be a few pieces of dry sticks which are placed at the centre. At the end of the event, these pieces (including real firewood if some members took the ritual literally) are lit up in a celebratory bonfire amid songs and dances (G4 Fieldnotes 2017).

- Tribal heritage consumption. For example, the ritual goat slaughtering, cooking and eating together, sharing tribal foods across different tribes, and wearing tribal attire during events; and
- sharing ideas about more modern consumption narratives (e.g. Toyota cars, especially 4 x 4s).

During G4 meetings, a few members – typically in prior arrangement with the elders – make presentations to the other members about new products they have come across, service or business they have started. These presentations are known within G4 as 'spot talks'. It is typical for the spot talk presenters to bring samples of products for others to see or try out. G4 spot talks were disclosed and observed to cover a wide range of products and services, such as i) new mobile money transfer services, ii) a locally (Kenyan) produced chocolate bar, iii) a locally produced alcoholic drink, iv) a life insurance service, v) a male grooming service and, vi) aloe vera health supplements. The spot talks are also used for members with a new business or businesses to explain to others what they sell. The spot talks were disclosed to also include offering advice to men about investments, insurance, medical, legal and men's health issues.

Four informants were interviewed (Alfred, Dom, Kigu and Tom). Sometimes, interviews with the same participant were split into different days where the informants agreed to more than one interview (for example, Kigu was interviewed on two separate occasions and Tom three times – one was a telephone interview, an interview during G4 meeting event and another outside of the G4 event).

Appendix 7.1.4: Synopsis of other collectives

Appendix Table 7.1 presents a summary of the profiles of the other tribal collectives in this study following a similar approach to G8, G3 and G4: profile overview, purpose, structure and prominent consumption practices.

Appendix Table 7. 1: Summary profiles of other collectives studied

Pseudonym for anonymised tribal collective	Overview and reason why members think the collective exists	Structure	Consumption
G7	At the time of research in 2017, G7 members had been gathering for 19 years. Most members are from the Kikuyu tribe with a few from the Meru and Embu tribes. It is a mixed-gender collective but with majority membership being men. The group was started by 20 Kikuyu men who resided in estates along the Thika superhighway. Their initial purpose was to have a platform for social networking. By the time of research, their activities had extended to collectively re-enacting tribal customs of the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu tribes. Central to this re-enactment is the perpetuation of ritual practices believed in the bygone tribal past to bind non-kin people together such as reciprocal gift exchange like slaughtering and sharing a goat. With kinship-like relationships established, members support each other by sharing business ideas and giving each other priority in business transactions. Membership is voluntary. Current active membership is estimated at 200. Members come from diverse professions (e.g. doctors, University lecturers, accountants, businesspeople, personal assistants, mechanics, construction workers, solicitors, and politicians). For a new person to be accepted within G7, one has to be recommended by an existing member, vetted and expected – but not obliged – to 'sponsor a sitting' for other members through the donation of a goat as a sign of commitment to the networks. The goat symbolises a willingness to 'become one' with other members. Customarily, the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu tribes used to slaughter and share a goat to mark special occasions such as marriage and to bind non-blood related friends together (Kenyatta 2015). G7 holds monthly events at mutually agreed selected venues along Thika road in Nairobi County. Informants from G7 were: Ken, Bob, Joyce, Paul, Elijah, Janet, Julia and Musa.	From the early years of G7, members self-organised and shared specific roles to organise events. Prominent roles include: 1. Event organisers – these are members who source and oversee the preparation of the ritual goats, and other foods and refreshments. They also plan and coordinate event venues. Members volunteer for this role. 2. G7 has two male members who volunteer to act as secretaries over a ten-year period. The two appointed secretaries still played this role at the time of their interview. They make announcements during events, arrange the time when members are requested to speak to others or share ideas publicly, and remind members of important issues such as the venue for the next meeting. 3. Treasurer – G7 has a volunteer treasurer. He has held this role since the beginning. When members volunteer to sponsor a sitting through donation of money to buy the goats, money is sent to the treasurer. Nowadays, the treasurer receives the money via M-Pesa. 4. Chairperson and deputy chairperson – these two roles are for calling the members to order during their meetings. 5. Regular supporters –the name the author gives to the other members of G7 who attend events, donate towards G7 monthly meeting costs and support the continuity of the collective. These regular supporters are of both genders, whereas the former four roles are only held by men.	Every once a month on a Saturday, members hold a get together event along the Thika superhighway within Nairobi County. A goat (or several goats) are slaughtered, cooked and collectively shared amongst members to reinforce members' links. The slaughtered goats are donated voluntarily by members, with this practice a mimicry of a bygone tribal custom of establishing links with others. Members also prepare traditional foods customarily associated with the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu tribes. The idea behind this collective sharing of traditional tribal foods is to remind members of their tribal roots in central Kenya from where most members hail from. The G7 collective uses this event to re-enact and perpetuate their shared tribal customs, making them relevant while residing in Nairobi. Members support each other in fulfilling tribal customs, such as tribal marriages. During these events, members interact and discuss issues of mutual interest to other members. Among the discussions held are a sharing of ideas about what is new in the marketplace, such as products and services. A prominent brand shared by most members is Toyota cars. Interviews revealed that stories about Toyota car are regularly shared within the group.

Appendix Table 7. 2: continued

Pseudonym for anonymised tribal collective	Overview and reason why members think the collective exists	Structure	Consumption
G6	G6 is a Mombasa based men only collective which has been around for about 12 years. G6 members are residents of Mombasa through work engagements or business but not typically natives of Mombasa county. Most G6 members are originally from what are locally considered 'up-country tribes' – that is, non-native tribes of the Coast province of Kenya. G6 collective is estimated to have 150-200 active members. Membership is voluntary and any adult man from any tribe is free to join in G6's activities. The initial purpose of G6 was to provide a platform for supporting up-country men moving to Mombasa to settle and socialise with similar others. However, G6 has since evolved to encompass the collective festivity of up-country tribes' culture. Every Sunday, an estimated 100 members gather and collectively share 'up-country' cuisine and music. Informants from G6 were: Matt, Patrick, Steve and Callum.	G6 is self-organised.	Prominent consumption observed and disclosed: 1. Toyota cars 2. Tribal heritage consumption of up-country tribes' customs. Collective negotiation of a myriad of other consumption goods and services of mutual interest to members.

Appendix Table 7. 3: continued

Pseudonym for anonymised tribal collective	Overview and reason why members think the collective exists	Structure	Consumption
G2	Kikuyu women-only self-organised collectives, with an estimated 300 members. Most members are professional Kikuyu women with origins in central Kenya but resident in Nairobi. Some are businesswomen, with a few are involved in import businesses. The group was started by about 30 women who wanted to empower themselves through the development of support networks among themselves where members could access advice from fellow female professionals, tap into Kenyan Government initiatives to empower women through financial loans and expand their social networks. However, the members who first came together all hailed from central Kenya. Over the last five years, the group has extended their collective activities to include nature trails and camping where members drive to selected nature parks around Kenya for what members see as communing with nature. Members deliberately choose to coalesce around fellow Kikuyu women living in Nairobi because they allegedly find it *"…easier to relate with each other [their Kikuyu kin]"* Jackeline. Jackeline and Kate were the main informants from G2.	G2 is self-organised with all members taking rotational responsibilities, such as arranging meeting venues, WhatsApp and Facebook information dissemination and general group administration.	Collective consumption of tribal heritage and participation in Kikuyu tribal customs involving members and their families, negotiation for the consumption of both local and imported goods, and collective interest in nature treks.

Appendix Table 7. 4: continued

Pseudonym for anonymised tribal collective	Overview and reason why members think the collective exists	Structure	Consumption
G5	This is a Kikuyu married women-only collective. Initially started in the late 1990s (date not precise but around 1998), the collective aims to empower women members in several mutually agreed areas. Membership is estimated to be about 160 – 200. The key purpose of G5 is to: 1.Mentor women members on Kikuyu values 2. Empower local women to be economically independent of their husbands while still maintaining a Kikuyu tribal woman's façade. 3. Good neighbourliness and socialising with fellow Kikuyu women resident around Thika. 4. Meetings once a month. Landing fee applies which goes towards refreshments during meetings. This 'landing fee' is voluntary – but the more you give the better your status in the group. Givers are revered whereas non-givers are not. 5. From this collective, Gemma and Kat were interviewed.	This collective has a structure whereby the older women are tasked – although through voluntary choice – with mentoring younger Kikuyu women.	1. Members mentor each other on Kikuyu tribal compliant practices. Having complied with tribal customs, the women members are then able to pursue other mutually agreed activities without fear of being seen as rebels to Kikuyu custom. For example, revenue-generating small businesses. 2. Rotating saving and credit advancement to members, allowing them to purchase collectively negotiated and vouched household goods, such as kitchenware. 3. The collective has bought a tent with accompanying facilities enabling members to use during events and for hire. The tent can accommodate over 100 hundred people, which is good for hosting events outdoors.

Appendix Table 7. 5: continued

Pseudonym for anonymised tribal collective	Overview and reason why members think the collective exists	Structure	Consumption
G1	Originally, G1 was started by Kikuyu married men living around the Thika town in an estate alongside the Thika-Garissa road. The main purpose of G1 is to help members through collective donations to fulfil dowry ritual requirements of the predominantly Kikuyu members. Group started for the following main reasons: 1. To support members to comply with Kikuyu customs in response to the growing tendency for people living around the area [Thika] adopting values considered 'foreign' while ignoring tribal ways of life. 2. To provide couples who are members with emotional and social support in times of need. However, this collective has since extended their activities to include rotating savings and credit facilities where members contribute money every month for distribution to selected couples on a rotating basis. This way, each couple or selected couples receive a lump sum of money every few months which members say would otherwise be difficult to raise. In addition, G1 has expanded their social networking to include support for members during bereavements, and when making purchases of a wide range of goods and services. From G1, John and Joana were interviewed.	G1 is self-organised. Seven couples considered 'elders' act as the patrons but every other activity is collectively negotiated and happens on a rotating basis dependent on volunteering.	1.Prominent consumption is tribal heritage consumption (such as dowries).

Appendix 7.2: Informants in this study

This section presents profiles of the informants in the study and the Tribal collectives (TCs) they belong to. First, two informants' profiles are presented in-depth. The remaining informants are tabulated following a similar approach based on how they described themselves to the author. Included here is a summary of what each informant responded to the three categories of questions:

- their motivation to gather alongside others in the group,
- their opinions and perceptions about the group, and
- their consumption characteristics within the group.

However, in line with the research aim, the author firstly established from informants whether, and if so, why they self-identified by a traditional tribe. Following their tribal disclosures, informants were purposefully chosen because of their membership of a self-organised collective. This was necessary to ensure that the key tenets of consumer tribes' are explored in tribes that consume but who also self-organise in the marketplace.

Appendix 7.2.1: Kigu

Kigu (pseudonym for anonymity), is a 44-year-old married man with children who was born and raised in Nairobi.

He describes himself as a Kikuyu tribe because his ancestors hailed from central Kenya, a region he believes is historically exclusive homeland for the Kikuyu tribe.

Kigu describes himself as a 'hustler' and as a modern Kenyan man,[46] and a junior elder currently living and managing what he describes as multiple businesses in Nairobi (such as male hair salons, gym clubs and gym equipment supply shops). In Nairobi, the term 'hustler' has become popular since Kenya's current vice-president openly described himself as having been a hustler before his success in business and politics. A hustler in Kenyan urban slang (Sheng) describes one who does many small businesses in order to survive rather than rely on one single employment. Sheng is slang spoken in Nairobi, combining English words, Kiswahili, multiple tribal words and invented words and over the years has emerged as a language spoken by millions of Kenyans (Githiora 2002).

Kigu discloses his motivation to join G4 are primarily to:

[46] Kigu describes the modern Kenyan man in Nairobi as '…a man in Nairobi…just a man trying to make another shilling'.

- socialise,
- access business networks,
- gain mentorship from elders, and
- associate himself with traditional tribal significant others in Nairobi.

Kigu thinks that men need to have men-only collectives because:

> *…traditionally in this country women have been forming groups, even before men started coming together, and they used to call them the chama, and you find, ah, women, perhaps mostly they live in the same neighbourhood or they go to the same church or they have one uniting factor or the other, maybe their husbands work in the same place, and so they probably live on company property, and they decide, look, let's do something that is going to be of an economic gain or economic value, or even our welfare, you know, they have children who are having weddings and birthdays, and the chamas would come together and, I don't know exactly, you know, the formal part of what they do because we are not invited.*

Kigu's opinion indicates that women have been forming groups for the social and economic wellbeing of members for a long time, and so men should do likewise.

Appendix 7.2.2: Paul

Paul (pseudonym for anonymity) is an architect and runs numerous small businesses. He discloses that he owns and runs several businesses including butcheries, a bar and a male grooming haircut business, and owns a commercial farm in Kiambu County. Describing himself as a city resident, he claims to have travelled internationally to countries in Europe, the Middle East, Asia and North America for businesses purposes and as a tourist. He discloses that he has a taste for foreign products whilst also keen to keep his tribal roots relevant. For example, he drives an imported 4 x 4 Toyota v8 car, dresses in conventional modern attire, yet enjoys joining in collective public displays of his Kikuyu tribal roots. A select disclosed motivation to join G7 was:

- to socialise with elders like himself in the Nairobi (he considers himself an elder through the fulfilment of Kikuyu traditions) and
- his passion for preparing, cooking and consuming traditional Kikuyu foods.

Describing his preference for a Kikuyu TC, he states that:

> *We mainly prefer to socialise with Kikuyu especially those from central Kenya … we do not discriminate but it's easier to deal with fellow Kikuyu's or Meru tribes …*

we have similar cultures, so we get along better and we understand meaning of goat-eating among men.

Paul's reflection typified many informants' reasons for what appears to be selective sociality based on a belief in shared tribal identities.

Appendix 7.2.3: Summary of the other informants' profiles

The tables in appendix 8 present detailed summary profiles of the other informants in the study. Table A8.1 presents male-only groups, Table A8.2 female-only, and Table A8.3 mixed-gender collectives.

Appendix 7.3: Conclusion

Appendix 7 presents brief overview of tribal collectives from where the author gained insight into self-organised collectives within Kenya's tribal society (Sub-section 7.1). Brief details of two informants who provided insight to the author are also included alongside their disclosed motivations towards TCs (Sub-section 7.2). The details of the other informants are tabulated in appendix 8. Specifically, appendix 8 summarises the informants TC type, their motivations and consumption practices.

Appendix 8: Informants' synopsis

Appendix Table 8. 1: Informants' synopsis from male-only TC [G6 and G4]

Pseudonym	Age	mother tongue language	Tribal name?	Tribal identity disclosed	Profile synopsis	Membership to	Prominent reasons for joining self-organised tribal gatherings	Consumption and practices directly attributed to collective's membership
Patrick	35	Kipsigis	Yes	Kalenjin	Patrick is originally from the Rift valley province of Kenya, before moving to Mombasa. Works in the clearing and forwarding business.	G6	1. Meet people to socialise with while in Mombasa and keep in touch with his traditions. Social capital. 2. Business networks.	1. General household goods, laptops. 2. Bought his car from a group member. 3. Does some clearing and forwarding services for members and friends of members.
Matt	44	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Married with Children. Originally from Central Kenya but currently working in Mombasa as an operations manager for a national FMCGs company.	G6	1. To be with others 'away from home', with tribal people residing in Mombasa but from up-country. 2. Connections with significant others from across up-country tribes. 3. Keep in tune with his up-country roots. 4. Learn about products such as cars, imported goods, and expand Social and business networks.	1. Bought Toyota car owing to advice from G6 members. 2. Supported by members in fulfilling a ritual he strongly values – dowry. 3. Enjoys consuming with others in the group what they consider to be up-country cuisine every Sunday. 4. Learned about fashion from members.
Tom	26	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Single, investment banker and Nairobi Stock Exchange broker. Runs a farming business near Nairobi.	G4	1. Network with elder businesspeople resident in Nairobi regardless of tribal background. 2.Learn how to relate with elders across the tribal divide and expand networks – Social and business. 3. Socialise with other men "*… women have women-only groups, so we decided…this should be only a male affair. It's a pleasure…men can talk about men issues, family issues, stuff that actually… does really matter to men without, ah, a feeling off [uneasy], men understand men issues and men are more open to men, so it's purely a men-only group"*.	1. Connect with other members trading in shares at the Nairobi stock exchange and do business together. 2.Bought farm trucks from another member of G4.

Appendix Table 8.1: continued

Pseu-do-nym	Age	mother tongue lan-guage?	Tribal name?	Tribal identity dis-closed?	Profile syn-opsis	Mem-ber-ship to?	Prominent rea-sons for joining a tribal gathering	Consumption and practices directly attributed to collective's membership
Cal-lum	37	Ki-embu	Yes	Embu	Married. Originally from Embu county but currently res-ident in Mombasa for work and business pur-poses. Fam-ily is up-country in Embu county, so G6 offers emotional support.	G6	1 Meet up and network with up-country tribes working and/ or resident in Mom-basa. 2 Overcome feel-ings of being a foreigner in Mombasa.	Passionate about Embu/Kikuyu culture. Therefore, while at G6, Callum enjoys meeting with other up-country peo-ple, comprising many tribes, with specific interests to Socialise with GEMA tribes, Kalenjin and Kamba tribes to recreate and collectively share customs resonating with their up-country tribal customs.
Alfred	46	Kikamba	Yes	Kamba	A University graduate married with children. Born and brought up in Nairobi city. A friend of Tom and in-troduced him to G4. Works as a stockbroker in Nairobi while also running some businesses as a 'hustler' on	G4	Seeking mentor-ship from elders' resident in Nai-robi about Afri-can/Kenyan cul-ture while estab-lishing business networks.	Cultural heritage consumption.

					the side besides stock-broking			
Steve	33	Tugen	Yes	Kalenjin	Works as a consultant in the import and export business.	G6	Meet up-country people living, working and/or resident in Mombasa.	Up-country cuisine, music, tribal attire and harmonising up-country culture to Mombasa culture.
Dom	28	Dholuo	Yes	Luo	Businessman	G4	Socialise, enjoy diverse tribal cultures. Nairobi born and bred	Participation in G4 tribal events.
Kigu	44	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Businessman	G4	Receive mentorship from elders, Social and business networking.	Numerous, ranging from home electrical gadgets, personal car to cultural heritage consumption.

Appendix Table 8. 2: Informants' synopsis from female-only self-organised tribal gatherings [G5, G3 and G2]

Pseudonym	Age	Disclosed mother tongue	Have a tribal name?	Tribal identity disclosed?	Profile synopsis	Member of	Prominent reasons for joining	Consumption and practices directly attributed to collective's membership
Gemma	56	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Married with adult children. Runs her own retail business and is a homeowner in Thika.	G5	1.To socialise with other Kikuyu women in Thika. 2. Empower herself and other women through business ideas, shopping and income generating business ventures. She discloses that '…*"A Kikuyu woman must play a role in the community she lives in otherwise people might start talking…is she a witch?"'*	1. Household goods, such as cutlery 2. Events organising business and 'outside catering' service business 3. Participating in dowry rituals for Kikuyu women 4. Kikuyu tribal attire
Nancy	45	Kiembu	Yes	Embu	A married with young children. Works in Nairobi city as a company secretary for a parastatal company. Owns a home in Ruiru.	G3	1. Meet up and network with other women from G.E.M.A tribes living around Ruiru. 2. Financial empowerment through rotating savings and sharing of a monthly contribution fund.	1. Purchase of a plot of land. 2. Kitchen installation. 3. Juice maker device.
Kate	22	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Single, university graduate working as marketing executive for a national land selling company. Lives in Nairobi but from the Rift Valley region of Kenya. Revealed that her parents emigrated from Central Kenya to Rift Valley before she was born.	G2	1. Network with other Kikuyu women in Nairobi for social reasons. 2. Learn about what is trending, fashion, imports.	1. Fashion and imported perfumes.
Kat	48	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Senior executive with multi-national corporation. Describes herself as being a modern woman.	G5	1. Pressure from friends who are members of women only collectives. '…not to be left out' by close friends.	1. New networks – social and business 2. Invitations to members' social events.

Appendix Table 8.2: Continued

Pseudo-nym	Age	Disclosed mother tongue	Have a tribal name?	Tribal identity disclosed?	Profile synopsis	Member of	Prominent reasons for joining	Consumption and practices directly attributed to collective's membership
Charity	44	Kimeru	Yes	Meru	Married with children. Works as a secretary	G3	To 'belong' among other women in her locality (Ruiru area)	Significant tribal customs and practices.
Jackeline	25	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Describes herself as born and bred in Nairobi city. Jackeline reveals that she works in public relations with a Government parastatal body	G2	1. Empower herself through G2, learn about and share Kikuyu ways of life with other Kikuyu women while stills enjoying modern lifestyles. 2. To tap into the Kenyan government's initiative to empower women and youth through support for women groups 3.To learn about what is trending in Nairobi city about fashion, holidays, beauty and women's grooming services.	1. Women's grooming services run by other members within Nairobi city. 2. Imported perfumes distributed by members. 3. Participating in nature trekking and camping with other members. 4. Household goods, such as musical systems, recommended by members.

Appendix Table 8. 3: Informants' synopsis from mixed-gender self-organised tribal gatherings [G8, G1 and G7]

Pseu-do-nym	Gender	Age	Dis-closed mother tongue	Have a tribal name?	Tribal identity disclosed	Profile synopsis	Member of	Prominent reasons for joining	Consumption and practices directly attributed to collective's membership
Musa	M	25	Ki-meru	Yes	Meru	University graduate	G7	1. Seeking networks for social and self-empowerment pur-poses, such as job or business opportunities.	1. Participating in Kikuyu and G.E.M.A tribes' customs. 2. Open to new ideas from others.
Caleb	M	31	Ki-meru	Yes	Meru	Married with children and a homeowner in Ruiru. Born and brought up in Nairobi city but moved to Ruiru seven years ago when he completed constructing his own home.	G8	1. Have fun with other people living and owning homes in Ruiru. 2. Partake in local social events to feel like a member of the community.	1. Participate in local events by members (such as supporting members organising weddings, bereavements and neighbourhood vigilantes). 2. Likes to buy a myriad of goods and services from local dealers who are members of G8.
Janet	F	32	Ki-meru	Yes	Meru	A post-graduate college student. At the time of interview, she was resident in Nairobi owing to her present student status. Prior to that, she resided in Meru county in Central Kenya where she worked as a civil servant.	G7	1. Socialising.	1. Enjoying the company of closely related tribes while away from central Kenya. Hence consumption of culturally significant foods, customs and social networks with significant tribal others.
Elijah	M	27	Gi-kuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Elijah is a graduate and single. Born and brought up in Nairobi, Elijah describes him-self as an active member of G7 for the last three years. He joined G7 to create social links. He revealed that his parents were from Central Kenya before they settled in Nairobi.	G7	1. Socialise and networking G7 offers Elijah.	1. Tribal heritage consumption pertaining to G.E.M.A tribes such as participating in goat rituals affirming kinship-like relationships and dowry rituals.

Appendix Table 8.3: continued

Pseu-do-nym	Gender	Age	Disclosed mother tongue	Have a tribal name?	Tribal identity disclosed	Profile synopsis	Member of	Prominent reasons for joining	Consumption and practices directly attributed to collective's membership
Ken	M	43	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Ken is a post-graduate educated accountant working for a real estate company based in Nairobi. He is married with children	G7	1. To link up with people from central Kenya while in Nairobi city. 2. Originally to socialise with men but later both genders and closely related G.E.M.A tribes. 3. Connection with like-minded significant others.	1. Choice of beer – Balozi. 2. Choice of car – Toyota. 3. Choice of schools for the children. 4. Estate to buy house – also now advises other members on houses/real estate. 5. Dowry help from G7 6. Collective consumption – reciprocal goat eating and sharing.
Bob	M	52	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Married with children. A member of G7 for 12 years. Works for a local council whilst running his own business involved in buying and selling houses. Active in organising events at G7	G7	1. Meet with other mainly Kikuyu and G.E.M.A men once a month to share traditional Kikuyu meals prepared in the traditional manner. 2. Beat loneliness, meet with friends he has known through G7 3. Support from significant others during times of need.	1. Collective sharing of significant tribal food. 2. Ritual sharing of goats to harness relationships like traditional kinship re-creation. 3. Drives a Toyota Hilux double cab 4. Learned about investments in housing from the group and now runs his own rentals business.
Julia	F	27	Samia	Yes	Abaluyah	Teacher and businesswoman.	G7	1. Network with like-minded, socialisation.	1. Cultural heritage consumption of different tribes, such as tribal music and tribal foods from the G.E.M.A tribes.
John	M	62	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Retired academic. A born again Christian but also an active elder within his Kikuyu tribe. He is one of the founding members of G1.	G1	1. A desire to participate in recreating Kikuyu customs with other like-minded tribal people living in Thika town. 2. Maintain Kikuyu values and instil them in younger members. 3. Help Kikuyu members realise that Kikuyu culture is compatible with Christianity through promoting both values.	1. Participation in Kikuyu dowry negotiation rituals for members. 2. Offer support to members with personal problems, such as bereavement.

Appendix Table 8.3: continued

Pseu-do-nym	Gender	Age	Disclosed mother tongue	Have a tribal name?	Tribal identity disclosed	Profile synopsis	Member of	Prominent reasons for joining	Consumption and practices directly attributed to collective's membership
Paul	M	50 +	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	A married business-man with farms in Kiambu county. He also runs a construc-tion company and other undisclosed businesses	G7	1. To build and enhance relation-ships with mainly Kikuyu men keen on keeping Kikuyu customs alive and relevant in Kenya today. 2. Does not mind meeting to ex-pand socialising networks with other G.E.M.A tribes' members besides the Kikuyu.	1. Bought Toyota car through G7 member connections. Owns another luxury Toyota VX as well. 2. Passionate about traditional Kikuyu foods.
Joana	F	34	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Married woman, teacher.	G1	1. Not to be judged as one who rejects her tribal roots. 2. To learn from other older mem-bers how to balance modern val-ues with Kikuyu values.	1. Paid for her dowry rituals with some help from G1 because her husband could not afford. 2. Participates in other members tribal rituals besides dowries.
Kevin	M	44	Ki-meru	Yes	Meru	Kevin is married with children. He owns a home in an upcoming housing estate in Ruiru. Kevin runs a road construction com-pany alongside a cleaning business. He also buys and sells a myriad of imported goods from Dubai and	G8	1. Keep in touch with other home-owners around Ruiru.	1. Closed circuit television (CCTV) for his home and floodlights for his com-pound.

						China as his clients' demand			
Joyce	F	Not disclosed	Gikuyu	Yes	Kikuyu	Businesswoman. Has shops in the city where she sells imports from Dubai and China.	G7	1. To 'feel at home' with people whose she enjoys company.	1. Enjoys sharing her Kikuyu cuisine with others while socialising.